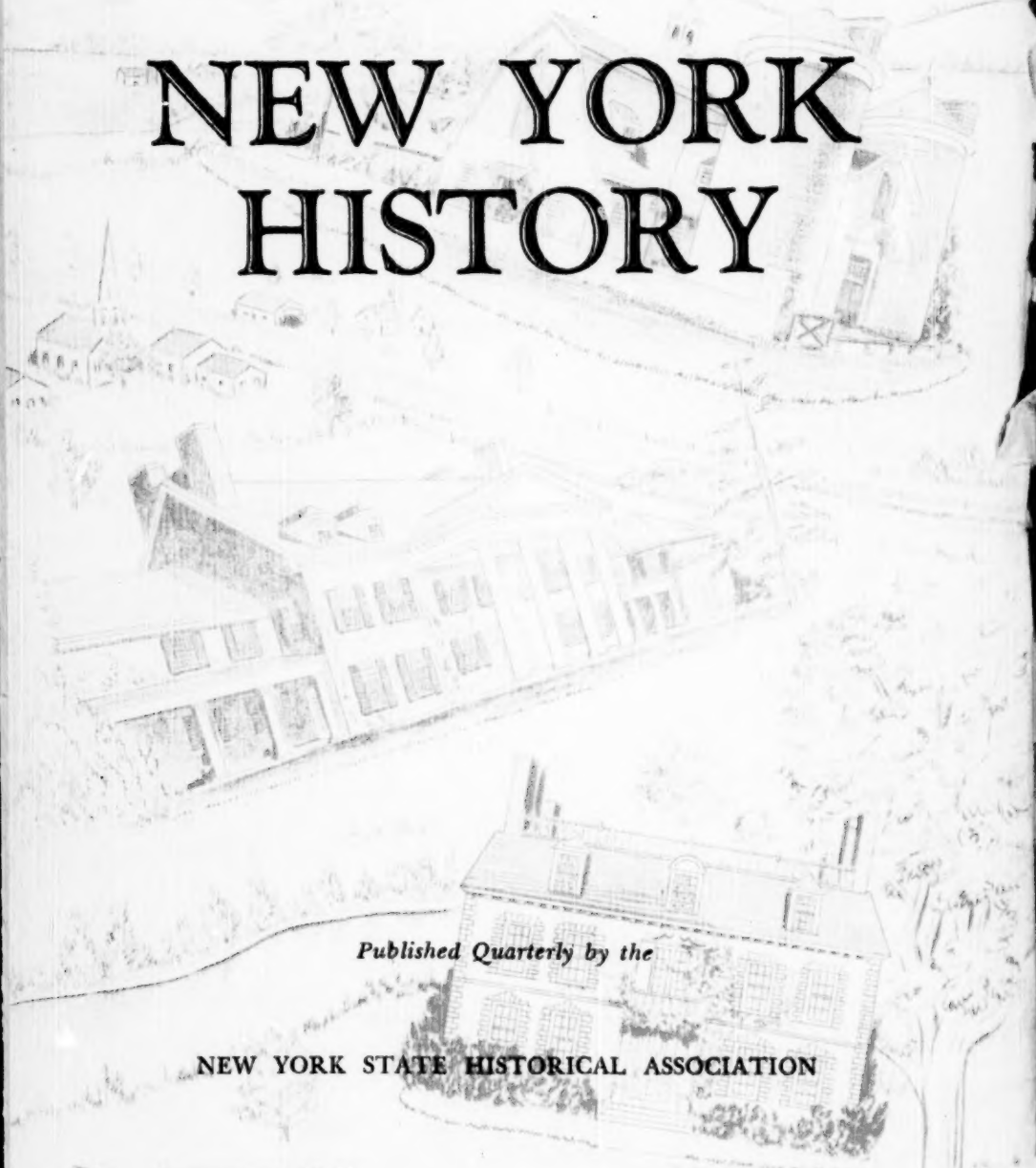
NEW YORK HISTORY



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New York History

The Quarterly Journal of the

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Louis C. Jones, *Editor-in-Chief*

Mary E. Cunningham, *Managing Editor, Book Review Editor*

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New York History

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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LIBERTY REVISITED

CARLTON J. H. HAYES*

IT SEEMS to me curiously significant that on the occasion of the golden jubilee of our New York State Historical Association we have been afforded the opportunity to visit the New York Freedom Train and to view its collection of historical documents so splendidly illustrative of our heritage of personal and national liberty. The Train is, of course, in the nature of a museum; and as I visited it, I wondered whether its function, like that of most other museums, might not be the exhibition of pleasingly quaint objects which are reminiscent of a bygone age but which have little or no bearing upon the world of today. We hardly expect to find anything in the Farmer's Museum or in the Museums at Fenimore House and Ticonderoga except what is *passé* and no longer in use. It may be ominous that liberty is now hung up or nailed down in the museum of the Freedom Train.

Fifty years ago, when our Association was founded, liberty was not a relic, a museum-piece. It was then lived with. Certainly in America and throughout an expanding part of the European world, it was generally esteemed not only as a precious heritage of the past but as a goal of the present and a fulfillment for the future. All of us who were born in the nineteenth century can recall the potent faith of that time

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in the beneficent nature and progressive attainment of human freedom. And accepting a kind of "law" about the continuous and inevitable broadening out of liberty, we were prepared to witness in the twentieth century a triumphant speeding up of the process. Many of us thought we saw its fruition in the outcome of the First World War: the universal recognition of the right of national self-determination; and simultaneously the well-nigh universal adoption of democratic republican constitutions, all provided with elaborate declarations of individual rights. If one man can symbolize the full tide of liberal optimism, that man was Woodrow Wilson, with his "new freedom," his crusade to make the world "safe for democracy," and his efforts in behalf of a league of free nations. Since Wilson, the tide has perceptibly ebbed. We who once saw liberty vigorously alive and boastful of her good looks, now behold her drooping and apologetic.

The earlier optimism had been justified by the best of all tests, namely, the record of history. That record, at least in so far as our Western civilization was concerned, had been writ large for many centuries with a stirring and continuous story of increasingly successful struggles for personal freedom against state despotism and group coercion. It constituted a basic tradition of our ancestors.

A most cursory review of outstanding landmarks on the long historical road would take us back at least to the middle ages, when European slavery disappeared and serfdom declined; when monarchy was limited all over western Europe by such documents as Magna Carta, and by the rise of representative government in parliament, estates general, or cortes; when the individual was assured of trial by jury and protected against arbitrary arrest and arbitrary taxation; when a degree of economic freedom was acquired by merchant- and craft-guilds, and of academic freedom by universities; when individualistic democracy was exemplified alike in urban communes and in monastic life. Then came the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. Its direct con-

tributions to the progress of liberty have been greatly exaggerated. Indeed, its immediate effect was to reinvigorate monarchial despotism and religious intolerance. Yet it ultimately produced, especially in radical Protestant sects like the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Quakers, and also among Catholics such as the Spanish Jesuits Suarez and Mariana, influential critics of the "divine-right monarchy" of a James I and stout opponents of royal tyranny whether in church or state.

Real religious liberty, as we understand it, was long delayed and eventually secured only painfully and piecemeal. It gradually gained, as in England or the United States, for example, from a multiplicity of dissenting sects the toleration of which in the long run proved easier than their extermination, although, as a rule, newly tolerated sects were apt to oppose further extension of toleration, say to Catholics. In Britain, the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters in 1689 was not fully extended to Catholics until 1829. No American colony, except Rhode Island and Pennsylvania (and Maryland briefly under its Catholic proprietor), practiced thoroughgoing religious toleration prior to the Revolution; most of the others had established and compulsorily supported churches, and these continued in Connecticut until 1818, in New Hampshire until 1819, and in Massachusetts until 1834.

Meanwhile, freedom had been forwarded in other important respects by the protracted conflict in seventeenth-century England between king and parliament, involving the Puritan revolt and eventuating in the "Glorious Revolution" and the "Declaration of Rights" of 1689. That Declaration, together with the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, was not a mere paper or partisan affair, as the Petition of Right of 1628 had been. Rather, it was a truly national expression, in concrete form, of political rights of the parliament against the king and of civil rights of the individual against the state. It made commonplace, both at home and in America, the idea that the individual Englishman is the embodiment of certain

natural and imprescriptible rights which no authority is entitled to invade. And the classic exposition of this idea by John Locke at the close of the seventeenth century proved a powerful factor both in confirming liberal doctrine across the Atlantic and in spreading it across the English Channel to the European continent, particularly to France. In the realm of ideas, Locke's philosophy pointed the way straight to the liberating American and French Revolutions a century later.

Our own America has proved a peculiarly fertile field for growing a bumper crop of liberty. A fundamental reason, we all recognize, was the originally virgin character of the land and the naturally individualistic life and labor of immigrant frontiersmen upon it. Monarch and courtiers were far away and never seen. There was no titled nobility. In William Penn's oft-quoted phrase, the individual colonists in America thought "nothing taller than themselves but the trees." Each of them thought, and on occasion would assert, that "I am as good as you are, except a bit better." Such a people took to the liberal gospel of a John Locke or a Montesquieu or even of a Rousseau as easily as ducks to water; and their revolt against George III was not so much a Revolution as a Conservation. They would conserve the "rights of Englishmen" of 1689. In doing so, however, Jefferson assigned to those rights a universal validity beyond the confines of any nation. "*All* men," he wrote, "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights"; and "among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The same political philosophy that dictated the Declaration of Independence was fundamental to the several state constitutions adopted between 1776 and 1780. The first object was to itemize and secure those "unalienable rights," and each constitution included a lengthy declaration of specific personal liberties. Most of these, moreover, were given added emphasis and application by their inclusion in the amendments of 1791 to the United States Constitution —our so-called Bill of Rights.

The outcome of the American Revolution, with its successful application of the principle of national self-determination and its elaboration of the principles of popular sovereignty and individual liberty, has had incalculable influence throughout the whole area of Western civilization. Its repercussion was immediate in France, where romantic interest in the *"bons sauvages"* of America combined with the philosophy of the "Enlightenment" to bring into bold relief the glaring contrast between "natural" liberty and "unnatural" privileges of crown and class and church. In the very year of the adoption of the American Constitution, the French Revolution started and the new National Assembly issued its famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." *"All* men," it repeated, "are born and remain free and equal in rights," and these rights are "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression."

Edmund Burke was probably the wisest political philosopher of the late eighteenth century, and almost as influential as John Locke had been during the preceding hundred years. Burke defended the American Revolution and its conservation of traditional liberties, but he assailed the French Revolution for its abrupt break with the past and its confusion of liberty with license. And indeed the French revolutionary *liberté* was soon eclipsed, as Burke predicted, by the *egalité* of mobocracy and the *fraternité* of bellicose nationalism. In time, however, a modus vivendi was reached between liberalism and conservatism in France, as well as in English-speaking countries, and was widely copied all over western and central Europe, rendering the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth a golden age of progressive human liberty, a climax to the freedom which had long been developing in the Western world.

I shall not try your patience with any detailing of the achievements of the golden age. A few generalizations will suffice. Not only did the age witness a steady extension of the right of the individual to exercise the political suffrage and thereby to have a say in the choice and actions of his govern-

ment. It also witnessed the gradual emancipation of women, the end of Negro slavery, the removal of restrictions on trade and on the right of association whether of business men or of workers. Liberty under law became the commonly accepted practice, and throughout Western Christendom one nation after another affirmed those individual liberties of religion, speech, press, assembly, petition, and justice which had been incorporated in the constitution of the United States. How significant it was that at the beginning of the present century one could freely travel anywhere in America and Europe, except in Russia and Turkey, without passport or police surveillance.

Alas, the golden age has been succeeded by one of iron and brass—and atomic bombs. The song of Orpheus, who led people into the light of civilized liberty, has been drowned out by "the raucous shouts of the drill-sergeant," who herds them back into the darkness of despotism. Or, to change the metaphor, new Genghiz Khans have latterly arisen. Two of them, the wild Nazi Hitler and the histrionic Fascist Mussolini, appeared within the orbit of our free Western world, and after causing terrible havoc, have met ignominious defeat and death. But the third, the half-oriental and half-barbarian Stalin, remains very much alive and continues to crush liberty throughout a domain that now stretches, vaster than the original Genghiz Khan's, from the China Seas and Korea across all Asia and most of Europe to the Adriatic and the Elbe. And his Communist despotism not only intrudes far into the traditionally Western Christendom. What is still worse, it commands the unquestioning allegiance of sizeable minorities in every country of the West, even in our own.

There is no essential difference between the imperial bolshevism of Stalin and the national socialism of Hitler's type. Both are utterly unscrupulous. Both are bitter foes of all political and civil liberty. Both regard the individual citizen as possessing no rights which can be asserted against the state and its dictatorship. Both trumpet the word "socialism" for

demagogic reasons, but both begin by abolishing the right to strike and conclude by turning their workers into slave labor. The ruling class in both is an oligarchy of bureaucrats and police, whose chief attention is devoted to liquidating domestic dissent and to insulating their enslaved subjects against any liberal idea and employing them to pile up huge armaments. Communism, no less than Fascism, is a thoroughly reactionary movement. Its present vogue represents a most ominous break with the progress of past ages toward the attainment of human freedom.

But the setback to liberty in our generation is attributable only in part to the strength and determination of its acknowledged foes abroad. It is also attributable to a weakening of devotion and effort on the part of its traditional friends and defenders at home. To this internal weakening, several factors have contributed. One is a shift of emphasis throughout the West from "liberty" to "equality" and "democracy." We talk altogether too much about our "*democratic* way of life" and too little about our "*free* way of life." We are more anxious that other nations should imitate our current forms of mass voting than that they should put into practice our historic personal liberties; and too many Americans take at face value the professions of democracy and the published election returns in Stalin's empire. We all, quite properly, want to assure an equality of opportunity to everybody and to enable every adult citizen, regardless of race, sex, or creed, to participate in democratic government. But democratic government is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The end is liberty; and majority rule can be despotic. As Peter Viereck has recently said: "In one sense, the concept of civil liberties is aristocratic and against democratic rule. If you insist on civil liberties, . . . then you must be prepared to say: 'Even if a fairly elected democratic majority of 99% wants to lynch all Negroes, Jews, Catholics, labor leaders, or bankers, it is our moral and legal duty to resist the majority, though we die in the attempt.' " [1]

Another factor in the weakening of liberal defense is the

recent popularity of the slogan of "One World." If only liberals and Communists would form a "popular front,"—so goes the argument—if only the United States and the Soviet Union would coöperate, we would all discover for seemingly conflicting idealogies a lowest common denominator which would provide the basis for world government and lasting world peace. In other words, you mix a trifle less despotism with considerably less liberty, and you get "One World"—and a dubious peace. But is the mixture really possible? And if so, at what price to human freedom? No gain to liberty has ever yet been made without struggle, and why, if we fought despotic Fascism in behalf of liberty, should we not oppose equally despotic Communism with the same high purpose? As I see it, there can be no "One World" so long as the world is half-free and half-slave.

Still another and perhaps the most compelling factor in our altered attitude toward liberty has been the enormous development of capitalistic enterprise in our time, accompanied by popular absorption in material concerns and by emergency of the "welfare state." "New Deals" and "Fair Deals" now carry national elections, and "liberal" governments vie with one another in "economic planning" for their people. There is no doubt that the state, in the true interest of liberty, has latterly had to safeguard the rights of common men against big business, as formerly against king or nobility or church, and it may presently have the duty of safeguarding them against dictatorial organization of labor or war veterans. And there is likewise no doubt that the complexities of economic life in the twentieth century put a strain on the liberties formulated in our constitution of the eighteenth century when society was freer and more localized. Yet how unfortunate it is that, in seeking solution of our contemporary social and economic problems, an influential number of our so-called "liberals" extol as "perfect" the planned economy of the Soviet Union, with its privileged army of bureaucrats and police, and urge us to imitate it.

Unfortunate, too, is the present widespread notion that the

most important thing in life is material well-being, that if man is only well housed and well fed and provided with some cake and circuses, he will automatically be contented and happy. I for one don't believe it. If you base society solely on the idea of economic gains, scrapping freedom for the sake of the tyranny needed to organize total planning, you will lose not only the freedom but the economic gains.

It is perhaps symptomatic of the newer drift that a late President of our country compressed our many historic freedoms into four: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. For these "four freedoms" are precisely those which are enjoyed by prison inmates. Any of us can easily acquire them for the rest of our life by committing a crime that leads to a life sentence in jail.

Liberty used to be something aspired to outside of jail, outside of compromise with a dictatorship, and outside of purely material considerations. And I cannot conclude my revisit to the older, broader liberty without some philosophical speculation on what then gave it vitality and may again give it vigor. Fundamentally, it rested and still rests on general acceptance of certain faiths concerning the nature of man. Everybody acts on some faith. For, despite all our science and education, there will remain a vast ignorance about the nature and destiny of man until such remote and Edenic time as we shall have obtained knowledge of everything from the primal mist to eternity's end, and until then we shall continue to bridge the unknown with faith.

Faith, of course, is not debatable in terms of scientific reason. It may be based on a mere "hunch," or, more convincingly, on an authority which is respected and trusted; or it may be derived pragmatically from historical study. Now faith in human liberty comes from both authority and past experience, and it involves several postulates. First, that man is not fated or "determined" in every respect by his physical environment or economic circumstances, but possesses a considerable degree of *free will;* that the individual is not naturally an automaton or a slave. Second, that

man is not wholly material, but has in him a *spiritual* or "supernatural" essence inspiring him with ideals and strivings above and beyond the physical needs of food, sleep, and procreation. Third, and as a logical corollary from the first two, faith in human liberty involves faith in a *supernatural Lawgiver* who has implanted in man, as part of his nature, an *innate sense of right and justice,* which philosophers have been wont to term "natural law," and which is superior to strictly human "positive law." And with this is coupled a faith that in man is implanted a *conscience* which bids him conform to such God-given "natural law."

Now if we look at the world around us and back at past ages, we discover that our concepts of individual liberty have never flourished in the Far East or Middle East and that historically they have been largely confined to areas of Western Christendom, the very areas where the Christian religion, with its Jewish and Greek background, rendered most effective support to the three or four particular faiths which I have just indicated.

Those particular faiths long antedate Christianity. They were eloquently expressed in antiquity by Greek philosophers and Hebrew prophets and Roman Stoics, but by none of these were they developed and utilized directly in behalf of individual liberty. Greek and Roman paganism and early Judaism made the city or the nation the special concern of God, and subordinated the individual to the state.

It remained for Christianity to bring out the interrelationship of the individual and what the Apostle James called "the perfect law of freedom." [2] Jesus Himself in the Gospels constantly stressed the eminent dignity of human personality; and on a famous occasion He struck at state omnipotence by sharply distinguishing between "what is Caesar's" and "what is God's." The social responsibility of the individual, and the basic condition of his liberty, was enshrined in the Golden Rule: "Do to other men all that you would have them do to you; that is the law and the prophets." And the

equality of all individuals under the "law of freedom" received repeated classic expression from St. Paul.

Ever since its original formulation, the Christian doctrine of freedom has been an integral and inspiring part of our Western civilization. It has featured the philosophy of a Saint Augustine, a Thomas Aquinas, and a Suarez. It has been emphasized in recent times alike by papal encyclicals and Protestant preaching. Moreover, it has been in back of the many popular insurrections against tyranny from the Middle Ages down through modern times to the present day. Wherever Christian ideals have been generally accepted and their practice sincerely attempted, there is a dynamic liberty. Wherever Christianity has not been taught or has been repudiated and persecuted, there is tyranny. It is my personal opinion that liberty and its Christian basis are indeed inseparable.

I am sure it was so with the traditional "liberties of Englishmen" and with the liberties set forth in our own state and federal constitutions during the revolutionary era and in our subsequent abolition of slavery. For a long time our United States coins, our most sought-after material things, have attested to the dual spiritual faith. "Liberty" is stamped on them, and, along with it, "In God we trust."

Liberty has always been a stimulant to independent thinking, and an antidote to collective apathy. How very very much now, when new tyrants apply opiates to the masses and do their thinking for them, do we need, not merely to view wistfully some exhibits on a Freedom Train, but ourselves to exhibit a renewed and exuberant and catching faith in human liberty. And I have such deepseated faith in the Christian doctrine of the dignity of man as to believe that in the long run he will rise again in revolt and free himself from the despotisms of the present age.

I find that my topic, "Liberty Revisited," has stretched out into a homily. I began it with no text, but let me conclude it with the verse I have incidentally referred to in the Epistle of St. James: "One who gazes into that perfect law, which

is the law of freedom, and dwells on the sight of it, does not forget its message; he finds something to do, and he does it, and his doing of it wins him a blessing."

[1] Peter Viereck, *Conservatism Revisited* (New York, 1949), pp. 20-21.
[2] Epistle of St. James, i, 25. This and the following quotations from the New Testament are from the recent English translation by Monsignor Ronald Knox (1944).

THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION UPON NEW YORK, 1840-60

RICHARD H. LEACH*

A HUNDRED years ago New York City had already become the preeminent port of entry into the United States. Thousands of immigrants poured into it annually to mingle with its people and the people of America. The success of the immigrants' American venture was problematical at the outset. It depended largely on how the American people, particularly the people of New York, felt toward these often destitute and ignorant foreigners; how the immigrants would be treated; where they were to find help; how often they were to be subjects of political agitation and moral denouncement; what protection the laws offered them.

The newcomers hoped for a warm welcome in America. It is much to the credit of New York State that these hopes did not prove in vain. State officials and responsible citizens early recognized the effects mass immigration would have upon the New York body politic. Their attempts to meet the problems attendant upon immigration form a noteworthy chapter of the state's history. The example offered by the state in keeping down the worst aspects of nativism has been too infrequently recognized as a really outstanding contribution to the development of American life.

I

From the outset, the state of New York and some of its sister states had sought to find acceptable solutions to the issue raised by immigration. There were few examples to follow, however, and they were forced to act at first without the aid of the federal government. The American people

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were many years away from putting immigration into the hands of Congress to be solved as a legal question. Ideas of restriction and exclusion, the only ones with which modern America is familar, were seldom suggested and never acted upon. Indeed, one hundred years ago the era of relatively free immigration was still in full flower and would be for about three more decades.

State laws concerning immigration, however, had come to be quite common before the Civil War, especially in the seaboard states. In the period 1840 to 1860, such laws were not restrictive in their terms. The general attitude of the states was one of welcome, and that attitude was to prevail throughout the period. Legislative action taken on the state level attempted only to protect American society and American life from possible outside harm. It was not directed toward immigration as a movement. Laws had been on the statute books of some states since before 1800 prohibiting the importation of convicted felons, provisions in the poor laws had been made against the importation of paupers, insane and others likely to become public charges, and public health laws had been passed containing sections which affected alien passengers.[1] In most states such laws seemed to be enough.

In New York, the problem was much more intense. Because its largest city was the main funnel for the flow of immigrants into the United States, the state's concern over the immigration problem was perhaps greater than that of any of its sisters. Stricter and more comprehensive laws seemed to be required. Beginning with the act of April 14, 1820,[2] the statute books of New York up to 1860 were seldom without a new entry each year which bore upon the subject of immigration. By that date, immigration legislation in New York had fully matured.

The 1820 law levied a tax on all passengers arriving at the port of New York from a foreign port, the proceeds to go to the Marine Hospital at Quarantine. It was really a health law. The act of February 11, 1824,[3] was the first law

to set up procedures applicable to immigrants as such immediately upon arrival. It was passed before the full effects of immigration had been felt, and its aim was merely to indemnify the public purse from undue charges for the support of indigent aliens. At the same time it provided the means to support those who required aid. Briefly, it provided that the master or owner of every ship arriving in New York must report within twenty-four hours to the mayor of the city a complete list of passengers, giving their names, place of birth, last legal settlement, age, and occupation. A penalty was provided for cases of non-compliance. All non-citizens were required to report of themselves to the mayor within the same length of time after landing. After examination of all the aliens reporting to him, the mayor was authorized to require the master or owner "to be bound with two sufficient sureties" not exceeding $300 per passenger for each alien who seemed likely to become a public charge. These bonds were limited to two years, during which time they were to be drawn on to the extent bonded aliens should become dependent upon public charity.

While the law of 1824 was directly concerned with aliens coming into New York, it should not be classed as an immigration measure. It was in reality only a poor law, a protective step taken by the community. Its provisions had no direct restrictive or exclusive effects except insofar as the penalties provided might have acted as deterrents. Nor did it attempt any regulation of immigration or of the evils attendant thereupon. Indeed, New York took no legal steps at any time which conflicted with the generally prevailing attitude of welcome held by its citizens.

This law was in force for twenty-three years. During that time an ever-increasing volume of protest arose against it, calling for changes in its provisions and in the general approach to the immigration problem. By the mid-forties, the bonding system set up in 1824 was no longer adequate for many reasons, and agitation for new legislation arose in many quarters. There were a number of factors behind this protest movement.

One of the factors certainly was the action on the part of foreign governments during this period. It had long been the practice of certain parishes in England and Ireland, and even more often, of certain duchies in Germany, to ship to this country at government expense the population of the poorhouses and jails—the undesirables—as a method of relieving the economic situations in those countries. Once here, these forced immigrants were simply dumped, and very frequently they ended up as public charges in the big cities of the East Coast, especially in New York.[4] Well might New York officials have echoed the complaint of Massachusetts, "Ours is the only community on the globe, it is believed, where the public treasury is thrown open to the indigent from other countries, where the almshouses are filled with emigrants from foreign lands, who find a home in every parish, and demand as a right what is often denied to the native poor of the State itself." [5]

Friedrich Kapp tells us that in 1844 the duchy of Baden sent to New York a consignment of paupers that was transferred directly from the ship to the poorhouse.[6] No effective legal procedures existed to prevent it, and the "exporting" governments came to consider it as their right to send such people to the United States. Any attempt to deny them entrance would have been regarded as immoral.[7] As a result the poorhouses and jails of New York came to show an altogether disproportionate number of foreign inmates. Loud was the cry raised against the expenditure of public money to support them.

The officials of the city complained that the bonding provision had failed to fulfill the very purpose for which it was passed. The public treasury was still forced to bear the burden of supporting aliens. The law fell down on several scores: it was laxly enforced; it was easy to evade, by landing passengers elsewhere, on the Jersey shore, for example; the two year limit was too short; it was hard to identify immigrant public charges whose expenses should have been met by the bonds, so inadequate were the descriptions required;

and worst of all, a racket had been built up around the bonding system.[8]

This racket worked as follows. The shipowners or masters, who were required to procure the bonds, found great numbers of brokers eager to take over the job. Willing to have them, of course, the shipowner merely charged the brokerage fee as additional fare, paid it to the broker and found himself free of all responsibility at no expense to himself. The brokers were in it for profits and sought to bond as many aliens as possible. As a result, many brokers were bonded greatly in excess of their ability to pay. Speculation arose because, since the act was defective in operation, the chances of being called upon for payment were not great. In addition, the brokers themselves took action to prevent the bonds from being called in. They set up private almshouses and hospitals, where needy and ill bonded aliens were lodged—hardly cared for—at some expense to the brokers, but at less a loss than would have been involved had the bonds been redeemed. Conditions in these private hospitals were so bad that bonded immigrants sought under all manner of pretext, and with much success, to get into city hospitals and almshouses, thus further adding to the public expense, and to the brokers' profits.[9]

In 1839, a commutation tax was allowed instead of the bond. Under this plan, the shipowner could request an examination of his passengers by the Almshouse Commissioners, who reported their findings to the mayor. The latter could then set a definite sum to be paid by the owner to indemnify the city, upon payment of which the latter was discharged of all liability. Only a few owners adopted this method, and so poorly was the commutation fund accounted for that much of the money that should have been paid to the city in the form of taxes never left the pockets of the captains. The whole system tended to become a sort of legalized robbery of the public treasury.[10]

By 1842, the frauds practiced by the brokers and shipowners were so offensive that an investigating committee was

created by the Board of Aldermen of New York. It found that less than one-fourth of the revenue due the city under the terms of the 1824 legislation had actually been received by it.[11] The remainder had passed into private hands. This evil situation was not remedied until the passage of the act of 1847. It was the brokers, thus, who benefited from the great immigration increases of the mid-forties, and the city which suffered more and more from the burden of pauper support.

The act of May 5, 1847 [12] repealed the act of 1824. It called for the same reporting as required in the earlier law, but to the items listed were to be added the individual's condition and physical and mental ability for self-support. A $75 fine was to be levied for each passenger not reported by the shipowner or master. A payment of one dollar was to be made within three days to the Chamberlain of the city for each passenger appearing on the manifest, the penalty for nonpayment being set at $300 per passenger. Five Commissioners of Emigration were to be appointed, whose duty it would be to examine into and report on the conditions of all passengers. Any lunatic, idiot, deaf and dumb person, blind or infirm individual, who was not a member of a family, and who was deemed likely to become a public charge, was to be noted as such by the Commissioners. For persons of this type, the mayor was to require, instead of the $1 fee, that the shipowner execute a $300 bond to indemnify the city treasury for a period of five years. To the Commissioners were assigned the duties of supporting and maintaining those who became indigent or sick and thus chargeable to public funds. They were also given the power to move their charges from one part of the state to another, out of the state entirely, and to lease or purchase property and erect buildings if necessary to carry out the provisions of the act.

The companion act, passed on April 11, 1848,[13] answered the second need, that of protecting the immigrant. It authorized the Commissioners to lease or build a separate pier or dock for the landing of immigrants. Shipmasters could then

be required to deposit their immigrant passengers there, and there only, under penalty of fine. It gave the Commissioners authority to prohibit any person not duly licensed from entering the dock area, and it provided for the licensing of boardinghouse keepers. The latter were also required to post their rates publicly in five languages as well as to file them with the Commissioners. No liens on baggage were to be allowed, and no passages inland were to be sold unless a public office was maintained, licensed by the mayor. The act also made it impossible for other than authorized persons to board the immigrant ships before their arrival at the dock. Thus the passengers could be properly advised and duly warned before they were beset by the runners and their ilk who would be waiting for them ashore.

These two laws were passed in the expectation that the immigration problem would be met by their terms. The 1847 law was a real immigration statute. It applied to all alien passengers and became the prototype for all later immigration laws. After its passage, it was possible for the city officials to meet the financial obligations that immigration entailed without dipping into the public treasury. The annual appropriations of the Assembly too could be discontinued, and the Commission's fund proved adequate to handle the job of alien pauperism and illness, at least as far as New York City was concerned.

The act of 1847 guarded the state against the introduction of likely public charges, but its intent was not restrictive. In fact, it offered inducements to healthy immigrants to enter New York insofar as it set up means of assuring assistance to those whom misfortune struck after their arrival. In the same manner, the 1848 law encouraged immigration. It offered protection and aid to the immigrant and provided him with reliable information. It prevented him from falling into the snares and pitfalls that his predecessors had encountered. Thus both laws served two purposes. They protected the city and state of New York financially and otherwise, and they offered help and encouragement to the immigrant.

Numerous amendments were made to these basic laws in the years following their passage. The commutation tax was abolished in 1849, and the shipowner was given the alternative of bonding his passengers or paying a $1.50 head tax on them to the Health Commissioner. The next year the passage of provisions for stiffer penalties on shipowners for non-compliance was secured. Maimed individuals, persons over sixty years of age, widows with children and single women with children were added in 1851 to the list of those for whom bonds were required. Two years later the time allowed for the shipmaster to secure his bonds was cut to twenty-four hours, and the head tax was raised to $2, the added fifty cents to go into a separate fund for the benefit of the counties in the state outside of the metropolis. In 1855, the Commissioners were authorized to designate as the landing place of all immigrants a *publicly* owned wharf, and immigrants were further protected by the requirement that prices for overland passage be published and controlled by the Commission. A penalty was provided for violation of a transportation contract by any company, and conditions were imposed on the sale of tickets and the amount of space to be assigned. An amendment was added in 1857 providing for licenses for the conveyance of immigrants and their baggage within the city of New York.[14]

The changes and additions noted above do not complete the list by any means, but an actual listing of the amendments in detail is not as important as to note their implications. They meant simply that throughout the period, the lawmakers of New York were taking action on what was perhaps the state's biggest problem, and that the action taken in 1847-48 had been basically correct. None of the later amendments changed the intent and purpose of the state's immigration program. It was not until well after the Civil War and on a different governmental plane that another approach was taken.

Thus, before the end of the period, the Commission of Emigration had secured full control over the immigrant

from the time he arrived at Quarantine until he was employed or safely on his way to the West. Although it had had the authority since 1848 to acquire a separate pier for immigrants, local opposition to creating one had prevented its exercise. At last, in 1855, the Commission was able to acquire a suitable site, the old fort at the foot of Manhattan Island known as Castle Garden. This was rehabilitated and set up as the Emigrant Landing Depot. It was to function for the next several decades and benefited the shippers and the community as well as the immigrants.[15]

Castle Garden was a success from the outset and proved to be a solution to many plaguing problems, including the final abolition of the runner trade. It was organized into departments, each of which handled a separate phase of the immigrant's "processing." Free advice and information were provided, and proper tickets to the West were sold at controlled prices. Baggage was stored free, and approved boarding houses and hotels (three English and three German) were recommended. Washing rooms, free hot water, and basic provisions at minimum prices were made available. Small amounts of money were loaned, and letters were written and received. Care for children was provided, and a labor exchange set up for those seeking immediate employment in New York.[16]

Provision for the sick was made at the Commission's adjunct to Castle Garden, Ward's Island, in the East River. Prior to 1847, the health law of 1820 had applied to infirm aliens. The tax levied under it had gone to the support of the Marine Hospital at Quarantine, to be administered by the health officers of the city. But in 1849 the Marine Hospital was made over to the Commission and designated as the hospital for contagious diseases only. The Commission then acquired Ward's Island and constructed adequate hospital space there for the only transient sick. It also set up on the Island a Refuge Department, where destitute immigrants could work for the institution while waiting for an opportunity outside.[17]

The Commissioners were an expert group of interested men. Their names mean nothing to the reader of today, but the thousands of immigrants who came under their guidance after 1847 had much to thank them for. Their work was well organized and efficiently managed. No longer was lax enforcement tolerated nor easy evasion possible. The forceful manner in which the Commissioners met immigration and its problems removed it from the arena of concern, where, prior to 1847, it had been becoming more and more prominent. Because of the excellent handling of the problem by the Commission, the great majority of New Yorkers no longer were aware of the existence of immigration as an issue. How well the Commission met its responsibilities can be illustrated by many examples. One of the best is all that need be cited here.

1847 has often been called the "ship-fever" year. Most of the ships in the immigrant trade were breeding places for disease, because of their accumulated filth, their lack of sanitary conveniences, their poor ventilation and the general overcrowding that prevailed on them. That year saw the height of the Irish famine, and many of the passengers were weak and hungry when they began their journey. They were thus highly susceptible to disease, and an epidemic sprang up that caused the death of thousands. The Commissioners mobilized all their resources and managed the situation so well that a minimum of danger faced the city. At the same time, a maximum of care was given to the immigrants. Stringent sanitary regulations were enforced, and many of the worst ships were forced to land elsewhere. Buildings were secured for use as hospitals, and medical treatment was provided. Clothing and food were offered, and employment found for those well enough to undertake it. Such efficient work characterized all that the Commission did.[18]

As it gained experience after the first year of operation, the Commission perfected its techniques. Meeting crisis after crisis, the Commission by the early fifties had found the power and the ability to cope with them. Summing up its

own work in 1854, it wrote: "It is mainly due to the effect of the present laws of the State relative to alien passengers arriving in the port of New York, that, whatever may be the imperfection of the system, or the defects or errors of its administration, yet the evils which must have otherwise existed to an incalculable extent, have been checked or alleviated; that the approach and spread of pestilential disease was long averted, and when it appeared, that ample provision was made for the largest class of sufferers without burden to the city treasury. . . . Crowds of destitute persons, who would otherwise have swarmed as beggars in our streets, or filled our Alms-Houses, were forwarded to distant places where they found employment and support, whilst the diseased and entirely helpless were provided for and relieved without adding to the taxation of city or country."[19]

Little more could be said in addition to the Commission's own remarks about either the operation of the basic laws of 1847-48, or the benefits derived from the expert work of the Commission. After 1847, the protests and complaints that had been loud and strong over the defects of the act of 1824 began to die down. The wise and timely action taken by New York prevented immigration from having an impact with consequences of a far more serious nature. Its legislation, wisely and capably administered, put a damper on those sparks of animosity in the hearts of some citizens that, unchecked, would have made nativism a much more dangerous force. Advanced for its time, New York's action in regard to immigration minimized the adverse effects of the European influx and made it possible for the new Americans better to contribute to the growth of the United States. But for the foresightedness of New York, the history of the eighteen forties and fifties might be a far different story from that we know now.

II

As important as was immigration one hundred years ago, cases involving it could hardly have failed to come before

the courts. Only two "immigrant" cases have survived to the present as truly worthy of discussion. Both were landmark cases of constitutional law before the Supreme Court of the United States.

The act of 1824 was at stake in the case of *The City of New York v. Miln*,[20] which came up for adjudication in 1837. The city had sued for the recovery of penalties under the act which were to be levied against shipowners who had not made the required report of all passengers. The defense offered by the shipowner, Miln, was that the New York law was null and void because it was a regulation of commerce, and thus a federal concern. The Court, however, upheld the state act as passed in the exercise of a power rightfully belonging to the state, i.e., the police power. The Court gave voice to the proposition that in regard to certain of its police powers, a state's authority is complete, unqualified, and exclusive, "with the result that the delegated powers of the United States must be defined in such a way as not to invade the fields normally occupied by such State powers." [21]

The Court recognized the peculiar situation in New York. Since it was exposed to financial and physical dangers to its citizens possibly attendant upon heavy immigration, the Court held that the state acted within its rights in passing a precautionary measure to deal with the evil of the support of alien paupers and criminals.

After this ruling of the Supreme Court, many states asserted their right to deny residence to foreign paupers or persons likely to become paupers. Exercising jurisdiction over their own ports under the shelter of the Constitution, they could and did impose restrictions upon incoming foreigners. Such conditions were not restrictive, however. Indeed, the ruling in the Miln case seemed to mean that any such action must be undertaken by the federal government. New York's control over immigration found sanction in the Court simply because it worked within the protected field of state power.

But the act of 1824 did not involve a tax upon the immi-

grants, and thus the crucial point of contact between federal and state powers was not touched. The second case before the Supreme Court did revolve around a tax provision. That was the health tax levied under the act of 1820 on each incoming foreign passenger for the support of the Marine Hospital. In the case of *Smith v. Turner*,[22] which came before the Court in 1849, it was this tax which provided the issue to be decided.

George Smith was the master of a British ship, which landed 290 steerage passengers at New York port in June of 1841. He refused to pay the hospital tax due on each one. William Turner, Health Commissioner of the State of New York, brought action to recover the unpaid taxes. The majority of the Court decided that the tax constituted a levy upon commerce, since immigrants were subjects of commerce, and thus was invalid as infringing upon the federal power in that field.

The Justices were not agreed as to the reasons for their decisions, but the most common ones were these. Since the tax had to be paid before the immigrants were landed, a delay was required, and payment thus became a condition for landing. The money received in the form of hospital taxes, when surplus for hospital needs, could be applied elsewhere. For example, the Commissioners had contributed to a society for the reformation of delinquent children. Thus the measure could be called something besides a health law. Such a tax was held to be contrary to the traditional policy of the country to encourage foreign immigration. The tax had been passed under the false assumption that all who landed in New York were to remain there, and some of the Justices felt that a maritime state could not inhibit the filling up of the rest of the country. If such a law were allowed to New York, every state might tax the alien on his way to the West. Such taxation would mount to virtual exclusion and states were not sovereign to that extent.

Smith v. Turner only emphasized the fact that real control over immigration was a federal concern. But since the fed-

eral government was not inclined to take any action, New York merely altered its tax structure to make it compatible with what it thought the Court's decision required and continued its system in operation. The amendment of 1849, allowing either a bond or a commutation tax, was no different in principle from the invalidated hospital tax act. Even the commutation system was declared unconstitutional in 1875,[23] however, and New York had several more years to operate its immigration establishments as best it could before the federal government finally acted in 1882. The Supreme Court was not being unduly picayunish in its judgments during these years. The fault lay with the laggard federal government, and until such time as it did take the initiative, New York was forced to meet an urgent situation. No one can deny that it was well met.

When the federal government finally began to enter the field of immigration legislation, it had the excellent example of New York to follow. To be sure, it had taken some halting action in regard to the problem between 1840 and 1860. It had passed some protective laws applying to shipboard conditions, such as the amount of space to be assigned, the ratio of cargo to passengers and provisions as to food and water. But it hesitated to undertake any regulation until the sudden increase in immigration after the Civil War forced its hand.

Congressional regulation was first exerted when the immigration of paupers and undesirables reached its heights and became a problem plaguing the entire country. Then Congress followed the model that New York had laid before it. But, whereas the state had been limited by the federal Constitution in the type of action it could take, the laws passed by Congress in 1875 and 1882 absolutely forbade the importation of prostitutes, alien convicts, idiots and persons obviously unable to take care of themselves.[24] At last the problem that New York had faced first had found its proper solution.

The pattern set in the New York act of 1847 was only in terms of a frame of reference for Congress when it came to

consider the larger problem. Because of the availability of the commerce power to the federal government, it had no need to make use of the bonding provisions at the outset. Rather, it could provide for absolute exclusion. The act of 1848, however, with its broader approach, was to prove of considerable guidance to the legislators of the Congress. The use of Commissioners and the procedures at Castle Garden for the reception and handling of immigrants served as the basis for the eventual creation of the federal immigration establishment at Ellis Island. Many of the practices and methods successfully used by the New York authorities were to serve as well under federal control, at least as long as immigration remained large in numbers.

The federal government, for example, utilized the New York act of 1824 in drawing up its system of manifest declarations for the incoming alien. Likewise, federal provisions for medical inspection and hospitalization followed the general scheme of the laws of New York. The principle of using bonds later came to be adopted in federal legislation, as was that of the head tax upon immigrants.

So it appears that the New York immigration laws were of value not only for the benefit which the state derived from their operation, but also for the example and guidance they offered to the federal government when it took over the responsibility of regulating immigration into this country. This is a contribution of the Empire State which has not been generally noted, and the subject is worthy of more attention than has heretofore been accorded it.

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[1] See W. J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York, Redfield, 1856), pp. 199-205, for a concise list of such state laws.

[2] *Laws of New York*, 43rd Session, ch. 229.

[3] *Ibid.*, 47th Session, ch. 37.

[4] For contemporary press comments, see *Niles' Weekly Register*, which carried on a campaign of complaint throughout the period.

[5] Senate of Massachusetts, Document #47, March, 1839, "A Report on the Bill Concerning State Paupers," p. 6.

[6] F. A. Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York, The Nation Press, 1870), p. 60.

[7] T. W. Page, "Some Economic Aspects of Immigration before 1870," *Journal of Political Economy*, December, 1912, pp. 1020-28.

[8] R. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration* (New York, Scribners, 1898), p. 218.

[9] Kapp, *op. cit.*, ch. 3.
[10] E. C. Guillet, *The Great Migration* (New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1937), p. 181.
[11] Mayo-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
[12] *Laws of New York*, 70th Session, ch. 195.
[13] *Laws of New York*, 71st Session, ch. 219.
[14] For easiest reference to the laws pertaining to immigration passed from 1840 to 1860, see *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Emigration of the State of New York, 1847 to 1860* (New York, John Trow, 1861), pp. 3-286.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 185-8.
[16] Maguire, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-213; Guillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-90.
[17] Kapp, *op. cit.*, ch. 6.
[18] Guillet, *op. cit.*, p. 183
[19] *Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration* (1854), in *Annual Reports, op. cit.*, p. 152. It is interesting to note that between 1847 and 1860, the Commission handled 893,736 persons and spent in the process $5,153,126.50. (*Annual Reports*, p. 379.)
[20] 11 Peters 102 (36 US); Miln is variously spelled Milne.
[21] E. S. Corwin, *The Constitution and What it Means Today* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 179; 11 Peters 102, 139.
[22] *The Passenger Cases*, 48 US 282. These cases are perhaps more famous today for their seriatim opinions than for their content.
[23] *Henderson et al. v. The Mayor of New York et al.* (92 US 259).
[24] *Revised Statutes of the United States*, Act of March 3, 1875, ch. 141; Act of August 3, 1882, ch. 376.

WHAT CROWN POINTERS WERE READING ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

ELMER EUGENE BARKER*

THE job of country postmaster one hundred years ago must have been satisfying. Many postmasters, we may be sure, found other ways than reading postal cards to fill out their hours of duty. Their job brought them into close personal touch with all their neighbors and was always full of human interest.

"Squire" Fenton was postmaster at Crown Point, in Essex County, New York, in 1849, when two youths of that community joined in the gold rush to California. In a letter that Charles Franklin Hammond of that town wrote to his son John in California one can look in on a scene in which the postmaster played a neighborly and sympathetic part. Mr. Hammond wrote,

> My dear son,—It is now ten months since you and Robert took your departure, and the last three months have been long and anxious months to me and to many others, up to the 12th inst., when we had the unspeakable pleasure and satisfaction of receiving two letters from you, one dated September 5, at Pueblo de Los Angeles, and one October 5, at San Francisco. Both came by the last California mail . . . . The mail arrived here at midnight that brought your letters [passenger and mail steamboats were running on nightly as well as daily schedule on Lake Champlain at that time]—and as soon as Esquire Fenton discovered that they were superscribed by you, he started for our house and called us up, and Frank at the store, and Fenton and Frank

* Asked for a biographical note, the author, tongue in cheek, so describes himself. "Dr. Barker finds his native town of Crown Point a rich source of historic and scientific material which he delights in bringing to the attention of people who, he feels, are so unfortunate as not to have gotten themselves born there!"

stayed until Frank had read them both to us, and a happy time we had.

George Brown was postmaster at the same place in 1846-1847 and in 1857-1860. He must have been a meticulously systematic person. There were no postal cards then to occupy his attention so he spent his time, when not doing the actual work required by his official duties, in keeping a journal in which he listed all the newspapers and magazines that passed through his office, together with the persons who subscribed to them. These lists now, a century later, throw light on the reading tastes of a rural community in northern New York and what periodicals were available as these came through the mails into their homes.

At that time this community's means of communication with the outer world, aside from roads, was by steamboat on Lake Champlain during the summer and in winter over the frozen lake or by road nearly forty miles to Whitehall, where a railroad connected with Troy and Albany, thence by either steamboat or train to New York City. Yet some, at least, of the residents were far from being provincial and, in spite of conditions of travel that would deter us, they made frequent trips for business and for pleasure to Albany and Troy, to Boston and New York. Mr. Hammond wrote to his son John that he and son Tom had returned from New York where they had been to hear Jenny Lind sing, quite as one at the present day might write about having gone there to hear a favorite opera or to see the rodeo. New York and Philadelphia newspapers were scanned not only for news of the world and the nation but also for information on markets and for sailings and arrivals of ships to and from ports in Europe and South America, and from Panama bringing the California mail.

I am indebted to the late Reverend George H. Buck of Crown Point for calling attention to the journal of George Brown, the postmaster. Mr. Buck compiled from it two lists of periodicals and two lists of subscribers, one for the years 1846-1847, the other for 1857-1860. The earlier list enumer-

ates 80 newspapers and magazines, few of which are still extant. Many of these titles suggest the subject matter of their contents but many give no clue whatever in this way. The uninformed person has to guess at it. The later list has 96 different publications. They contain quite a number not in the earlier one. Three hundred subscribers are listed in 1846-1847, four hundred eighty-eight in 1857-1860. (Note: The U. S. Census gives the population of the Town of Crown Point in 1850 as 2378 whites, in 1860 2251 whites and 1 black).

Mr. Buck noted that "about half were news weeklies, the rest weekly or monthly publications, farming, religious, temperance, musical, and 'parlour.'" In writing to me he mentioned certain individuals of particular interest to each of us as family relations. He wrote, with dry humor,

> The Barkers and the Bucks were not cluttered with many periodicals. A New York or an Albany weekly was about all. John Barker had the Albany Evening Journal, Essex County Republican, and The Voice of Freedom, Brandon, Vt. Sam Barker took the Journal and the Republican and the New England Puritan, Boston. Sarah Barker had the Dayspring, Boston. My ancestry is revealed as not literary. Helan Buck had only the New York Tribune. He was still taking it in my childhood. I remember him of a winter evening sitting at a table reading it with two tallow candles, one on either side. No daily paper appears on the lists until 1857 when John C. Hammond gets the New York Daily Tribune. The next year Bogue indulges, and the succeeding year C. P. Fobes. (Note by G. H. B. Gummed postage stamps were authorized by Congress in 1847. Use not required till 1855). The Hammonds were far ahead of other Crown Point people in the records. John C. Hammond was the most extensive reader, all subjects. Charles F. Hammond had a shorter list, but good sized.

The Hammonds, by the way, were the leading family in those times of this community. Their business interests were

large, measured in standards of their day, and varied. They had sawmills back in the Adirondack Mountains and shipped their lumber by canal boats to downstate markets. They developed iron mines and made the ore into pig iron in their own blast furnace: they carried on incidentally a mercantile and banking business of considerable volume and numerous other enterprises. John C. Hammond subscribed in 1846 to the New York *Farmer & Mechanic, Cold Water Battery, Albany Evening Journal,* both weekly and semi-weekly, *Genesee Farmer, Christian Parlour Magazine, New York Express, Self Instructor, New York Mirror, New York Public Schools.* In 1857 he received the *Colonization Journal, New York Observer,* and *New York Daily Tribune.*

Charles F. Hammond, his brother, in 1846-1847 subscribed to *Dayspring, Musical Gazette, New York Mirror, Dispatch* (Wilson & Co.), *Essex County Republican, Farmer & Mechanic.* In 1857-1860 his reading matter is largely supplied from Philadelphia, as he is getting *Alexander's Messenger, Episcopal Recorder, Saturday Gazette,*—all published in that city, besides *Gem of the Prairie* (Chicago), and the *Bee* (Ovid). Jane Hammond, his wife, is listed in 1846-1847 as receiving the *Musical Gazette, Albany Evening Journal, Dayspring, Parley's Magazine.* Their sons in the later period were subscribers and receiving publications in their own names. John, who had gone to California in 1849, now 30 years of age or more, takes the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, New York* (weekly) *Tribune, New York* (semi-monthly) *Tribune, New York Independent,* Porter's *Spirit of the Times.* His brother Tom, eight years younger, has *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and the *New York* (daily) *Tribune.*

Allen Penfield, a brother-in-law of John C. and Charles F. Hammond, was also engaged in the lumber and iron business. In 1846-1847 his reading ran largely to religious publications,—the *Christian Parlour Magazine, Bible Society Record, Christian Reflector, Home Missionary, Temperance Union,*—but with a sprinkling of business and politics and

general culture,—*African Repository, Graham's Magazine, New York Observer, American Messenger, Dispatch, Dayspring, Troy Whig.* His daughter Lucy took the *Musical Gazette* (she played the melodeon). Then years later we find him reading the *Musical Pioneer, Colonization Journal, New York Independent, Journal of the American Temperance Union, New York* (daily) *Tribune.* Inasmuch as direct railroad connections with Albany and New York were not established at Crown Point until 1874 and the Penfields lived six miles from the postoffice, a daily newspaper was something of an anomaly for them to be taking. His son James at this time is listed as getting the *Musical Pioneer, Knickerbocker,* and *Home Journal.*

The Crown Point Iron Company, organized by the Hammonds and owned by them at that time, is listed in the second period as subscriber to the *Bank Note Register,* and *New York Clipper.* The latter, being the first publication devoted to interests of the stage, convinces one that the C.P.I.Co. was not an altogether "soulless corporation." As we have said, this was a family company, which may explain the otherwise seemingly irrelevant, if not irreverent, reading taste of a business organization!

Another leading citizen, a business man and staunch supporter of the Congregational Church, was Juba Howe. In the earlier list he appears to have been harkening to the *Voice of Freedom* and his politics found nourishment in the *Essex County Republican.* The Howe family have the *Christian Parlour Magazine* and another whose title is not recorded. Later, he is found with the *Boston Pilot, Middlebury* (Vermont) *Register,* and *New York Observer.* At this time his wife has *Harper's New Magazine* and his daughter Mary is getting the *Ladies' Home Magazine* and *Ladies' Visitor.*

The Reverend Herrick, pastor of the village church, subscribes to quite a list, considering the meager salary he probably was paid. It comprised, in 1846-1847, the *Albany Evening Journal, Home Missionary, Cold Water Battery,*

Parley's Magazine, New England Puritan, Essex County Republican, and *Alexander's Messenger.* Later, although he is a Congregational minister, he reads the *Episcopal Recorder.* Rev. Harrington takes the *Sunday School Advocate* and *Zion Herald.* Calvin Huestis, a substantial and godfearing farmer, takes only the *Saturday Courier* in 1847 but ten years later he is receiving no fewer than five publications,—the *American Agriculturist, New York Clipper, Ladies' Home Magazine, New York Independent,* and the *Corn Planter & Mechanic* (Seneca Falls, N. Y.).

Chester Bascom seems to have been a man with genuinely cultural interests. His three journals are the *Musical Pioneer, Scientific American,* and *Life Illustrated.* (Remember, gentle reader, that all illustrations in those times were printed from wood blocks laboriously cut by hand, and in picturing events the artist necessarily depended on some description of it that he had read, as he seldom had witnessed the event himself.

Other persons also might be cited to show how personal interests and tastes ran, but the several cases given above seem to be fairly typical of various types.

Mary Murdock Miller, now a lady in her 85th year, was a young girl living on a Crown Point farm in the 1870's. She writes me about the magazines and newspapers she remembers seeing in the home of her Grandfather Murdock.

> When I was a small girl one day in rummaging about in grandfather's attic I found a chest full of old copies of the Philadelphia Ledger, a paper devoted to fiction. They were not considered proper reading for me, but I confess I spent hours in that attic reading them secretly. I suppose those papers were taken by my father's sister when she was a young lady. As for papers in the home when I was small, I remember the New York Sun and the New York World, and Albany Argus, Godey's Lady's Book and, after that, Peterson's Magazine. I rather think the Godey's were in the attic. Then, for Cousin Laura, there was a child's magazine named The Nursery, if I remember rightly, and for myself for a few years Our Young Folk, published in Boston by

J. T. Trowbridge and Lucy Larcom, and after that the Youth's Companion published, I think, by Perry Mason & Co.

The following lists of periodicals passing through the post-office at Crown Point, New York, were compiled from the journal of George Brown, Postmaster, by the Rev. George H. Buck.

w—weekly sw—semiweekly mo—monthly qua—quarterly d—daily smo—semimonthly

YEARS 1846 AND 1847

			No. of Sub.
Albany Argus		w	20
Alexander's Messenger	Philadelphia		4
Albany Evening Journal		w	50
Albany Evening Journal		sw	12
Albany Atlas		w	11
American Messenger	New York	mo	7
African Repository	Washington		6
Albany Patriot			..
Brother Jonathan	New York	mo	5
Bulletin	New York	mo	4
Bible Society Record	New York		1
Boston Investigator		w	2
Bee	Ovid, N. Y.		1
Courier and Inquirer	New York	sw	1
Christian Reflector	Boston	w	8
Christian Advocate	New York	w	9
Cold Water Battery	Stillwater, N. Y.		14
Christian Parlour Magazine	Boston	mo	5
Dollar Newspaper	Philadelphia	w	12
Dispatch Wilson & Co.	New York	mo	25
Dayspring	Boston		20
Episcopal Recorder	Philadelphia	w	1
Essex County Republican	Keesville, N. Y.	w	42
Evangelist	New York	w	9
Express	New York	sw	1
Enterprise		mo	2
Farmer & Mechanic	New York	mo	4
Genesee Farmer	Rochester, N. Y.	mo	1
Gentlemen and Ladies' Magazine	New York	mo	1
Grahams Magazine	Philadelphia		1
Gazette & Mercury	Greenfield, Mass.		..
Goshen Democrat	Goshen, N. Y.		1
Gem of the Prairie	Chicago	w	2
Home Missionary	New York	mo	3
Journal of Medicine	New York	mo	1
Liberty Press	Utica, N.Y.		2
Journal of the American Temperance Union		mo	2
Musical Gazette	Boston	smo	9

Monthly Bulletin (see Bulletin)			
Mothers' Journal & Family Visitant	New York	mo	8
Mirror	New York	w	2
New York Farmer & Mechanic (See Farmer & Mechanic)			
New York Sun		w	14
New York Express		sw	..
New York Spectator		sw	1
New York Recorder		w	1
New York Public Schools		mo	1
New York Evening Post		w	19
New York Observer			4
New York Tribune		w	4
National Preacher	New York	mo	..
News Weekly	New York		7
Northern Budget	Troy	w	..
New England Puritan	Boston	w	3
Northern Galaxy	Middlebury, Vt.	w	..
National Intellegencer	Washington	w	2
New Yorker			2
Parlor Annual	New York		2
The Pulpit	New York	mo	..
Parley's Magazine	New York	mo	5
Self Instructor			
Saturday Emporium	Philadelphia	w	1
Sunday School Advocate	New York	smo	37
Saturday Courier	Philadelphia		9
School District Journal	Albany		..
Saturday Gazette	Philadelphia	w	..
Stillwater Gazette			2
St. Lawrence Republican	Ogdensburg, N. Y.		1
Temperance Union	New York	mo	1
True Wesleyan	New York	w	8
Temperance Standard	Boston	w	2
Troy Whig		w	3
Universalist Watchman	Montpelier, Vt.	w	1
Wilson & Co. Dispatch (see Dispatch)			
Westport Patriot		w	16
Weekly Post	New York		
World We Live In	New York	mo	1
Weekly Times	Philadelphia		1
Vermont Observer	Poultney, Vt.		7
Voice of Freedom	Brandon, Vt.		22
Youth's Cabinet	New York	mo	1
Zion's Herald	Boston	w	1
Total subscriptions			489

YEARS 1857 TO 1860

		No. of Sub.
Albany Atlas & Argus		21
Advocate and Family Guardian	mo	1
American Agriculturist		26
Albany Evening Journal		85

What Crown Pointers Were Reading 100 Years Ago

Atlantic Monthly			2
American Stock Journal			1
Boston Pilot			8
Banner of Light	New York		3
Boston Cultivator			6
Baptist Family Magazine	Philadelphia		3
Brother Jonathan	New York	mo	18
Bank Note Register	New York		3
Corn Planter & Mechanic	Seneca Falls, N. Y.		1
Colonization Journal	New York	mo	7
Country Gentleman	Albany		2
Christian Watchman	Boston		..
Childs Paper	New York		2
Cosmopolitan Art Journal	New York	qua	6
Congregational Quarterly			1
Christian Advocate			18
Congregational Herald	Chicago		1
Daily Globe			1
Camden Freeman	Oneida County, N. Y.		..
Daybreak	New York	w	5
Dollar Newspaper	Philadelphia		12
Evangelist			4
Educational Herald			1
Flag of Our Union			1
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper			4
Godey's Lady's Book	Philadelphia		2
Gleason's New Weekly Line of Battleship	Boston		14
Gleason's Pictorial			8
Golden Prize			2
Harper's Illustrated Weekly			1
Harper's New Magazine			..
Home Missionary	New York	mo	9
Home Monthly	Buffalo		..
Home Journal	New York		1
Forrester's Playmate	Boston	mo	7
Irish American	New York		4
Journal of Health	New York		2
Journal of the American Temperance Union	New York		6
Juvenile Instructor			4
Knickerbocker			1
Ladies' Repository			6
Ladies' Home Magazine	Philadelphia		12
Life Illustrated			4
Ladies' Visitor			5
La Fleur de Lis			1
Middlebury Register			1
Musical Review			3
Musical Pioneer			29
Missionary Advocate	New York		1
Northern Independent	Auburn, N. Y.		4
Northern Standard	Keesville, N. Y.		3
Northern Visitor	Brandon, Vt.		4
New York Evening Post		sw	2
New York Evening Post		w	72
New York News			26

New York Observer			4
New York Tribune		w	97
New York Tribune		sw	20
New York Tribune		d	7
New York Mercury		w	16
New York Chronicle			2
New York Weekly			1
New York Ledger			36
New York Clipper			3
New York Weekly Express			1
New York Teacher	Albany		1
New York Independent			32
New York SemiWeekly Times			2
New York Sun			1
Ottumwa Democrat	Port Clinton, Ohio		1
Olive Branch			8
Plattsburgh Republican			3
Peterson's Ladies' Magazine	Philadelphia		22
Philadelphia Union	Philadelphia	mo	6
Porter's Spirit of the Times	New York		2
Rockland Gazette			..
Red, White & Blue	Philadelphia		1
Scientific American			6
Sacramento Steamer Union	California		..
Sunbeam	Buffalo	w	15
Sunbeam	Batavia		7
Rural New Yorker			1
Springfield Republican			1
Rutland Herald			3
United States Journal	New York		2
United States Mining Journal			1
Vergennes Citizen			2
Waverley's Magazine	Boston		12
Water Cure Journal			2
Wesleyan	Syracuse		5
World's Paper	Sandusky, Vt.		..
Zion's Herald	Boston		1
Total number of periodicals 96		Total subscriptions	810

FAIRFIELD ACADEMY

CARL PETERSON*

TO RESIDENTS of the Mohawk Valley and Central New York there has always been a fascination in the story of Old Fairfield Academy. Its graduates have seemingly left indelible impressions, bound to linger. For many years Senator Albert Mills of Little Falls, one of the most eminent of the New York State bar, charmed the people of Central New York with his personality and his success at the bar. Then there was Araphaxed Loomis, a man whose public service could never be repaid. Suffice it to say he became a member of Congress, a member of the Assembly of New York State, one of the authors of the New York State Code of Civil Procedure, a member of the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1846 and a great leader. Among its graduates were also those eminent jurists, Judge Hiram Denio and Judge Addison Gardner, both of whom became judges of the Court of Appeals. And there was Watson Squire of Ilion, who later went on to become the Governor of the Territory of Washington and the first United States Senator from the new state of Washington, and William T. Lord, Governor of Oregon and later Chief Justice of that state, and Robert J. Reynolds, Governor of Delaware. Also among its graduates were Prof. John Foster of Union College and Jean R. Stebbins who became editor of the Little Falls Journal & Courier. And we should not forget Asa Gray, the great botanist. And there have been many more illustrious people, like Samuel Earl, Josiah Shull, Congressman Alexander H. Buell, Bishop Mahlon M. Gilbert and others.

What manner of school was it that has contributed so generously to the culture of its time and has given this

* A graduate of Albany Law School, for fifteen years District Attorney of Herkimer County, Mr. Peterson was elected County Judge and Surrogate of Herkimer County in 1945.

country so many of its distinguished statesmen over a period of almost a century—and how did such an illustrious school come to Fairfield? It was the symbol and center of education and culture in this area during that grand era. Here indeed could Socrates' philosophy "Know Thyself" find expression, and its influence became nation wide.

It all started in the fall of 1801 when Rev. Caleb Alexander, a Presbyterian clergyman and Yale graduate, came to this section of the country from Massachusetts as a missionary visiting the various churches and the Indians. His travels took him to Fairfield, Salisbury and Norway, where he preached in various churches and places. Fairfield at the time was a township with a population of 2,065 people. Salisbury had 1,694 inhabitants and Norway was a thriving township. While the community thereabouts was essentially rural, the Town of Fairfield was seemingly in the main line of traffic moving from north to south in a fast settling country that was coming into its own.

Into the Royal Grant, where Fairfield was located were coming many settlers. Many of them made the trip up the Mohawk in boats, while others followed the valley turnpike to Little Falls. From Little Falls the route of the settlers came north over what is now Church Street and passed through Fairfield. Business began to flourish. According to Prof. James M. Hall who taught at Fairfield for more than half a century there were a number of residences, some stores, a hotel, a tannery, a grist mill, a saw mill, a carding and clothing dressing mill, also a potashery, a blacksmith shop, a cooper's shop and a hat manufacturing shop. Thus an active manufacturing center in the county had emerged. Farmers were clearing their lands and raising wheat, a most important commodity of the times, which in turn was threshed and transported to Albany along the Mohawk Trail.

By 1801 Fairfield was indeed well settled, favored with good roads and had the advantage of proximity to main channels of traffic. The entire picture is one of progress except that the facilities for schooling were very poor and

there was a dismal lack of churches amongst a people essentially religious. Indeed there had been little opportunity for education anywhere throughout Central New York, although there had been a definite yearning for it on the part of our early settlers who were signally aware of the value of education and culture, a yearning given impetus by the influx of the New Englanders who arrived here.

It must be remembered that the Palatines who arrived in the Mohawk Valley in 1722, while they sought knowledge and culture, had had little time to establish facilities for education, having been pursued by ill fortune and almost constant warfare. In the brief time they had been in this area they had definitely shown their competence and industry in agricultural pursuits. They had cleared their lands, establishing good farms, and in the meantime had valiantly protected their holdings against the Indian depredations and ravages during the French and Indian War and later the Revolutionary War. It was, indeed, a constant struggle for life with them. Now, however, an era of peace was dawning, and the population was fast growing. Into such a community came Rev. Caleb Alexander, himself a devout advocate of learning and culture, a truly conscientious man who believed sincerely in his God and in the theory that knowledge is divine. Definitely, it seems, Mr. Alexander perceived a challenge in this rapidly growing part of the state to be true to his cultural instincts and to his God, with the full realization that only on the basis of a better education could a person serve his people and his country to best advantage.

In Fairfield he made the suggestion that a school of academic grade be established and the idea was seized upon with enthusiasm. To promote this venture in education, Mr. Alexander, with his family, took up his residence in Fairfield in the spring of 1802. With the great help and assistance of Captain Moses Mather, Mr. Alexander soon became most actively engaged in the effort to raise the necessary money. The success of the campaign is best manifested in the fact that on July 4, 1802 the academy building was formally

raised and construction began. That was a great day for the entire countryside and everyone was invited to the "raising." It might even have been called a raising bee, for while the men raised the roof beams, the women stood loyally by with plenty of food. On March 15, 1803 the school was granted a charter by the Board of Regents, and the building was ready for occupancy.

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees took place April 6th and on April 13th the school opened with Mr. Alexander as principal or headmaster. As principal he received the munificent sum of $300 per year. On the Board of Trustees were some of the foremost men of the day: Congressmen Westall Willoughby and John Herkimer, Mathias Talmadge, Nathan Smith, Francis A. Bloodgood, all in the state Senate; Thomas Manley, John Meyer and Samuel Wright, in the Assembly; Jonathan Hallett, Alijah Mann, Sr., Samuel Giles, Alvah Southworth, William Smith, Clark Smith, John Snell, Henry Coffin, Moses Mather, William Griswold, Cyrus M. Johnson, Charles Ward, Thomas Bennett, Aaron Hackley, Sr.

In 1808 the Worden Laboratory was erected and lectures in chemistry were given by Dr. Josiah Noyes. The course in chemistry became very popular and soon outgrew the small building in which it was given. In 1809-10 the stone laboratory was therefore constructed and a medical and anatomical school added to the institution, and the medical college became a reality in 1812. In the meantime, the new courses added new students and in 1811 the North building was erected through the means of a stock company, and later sold by the company to the trustees of the Academy.

In January 1812 Rev. Alexander submitted his resignation as principal and in his place Rev. Bethel Judd was elected. It was about this time that Trinity Church became interested in the academy and offered to pay the sum of $750 to the institution in return for which the headmaster should be an Episcopal clergyman. Thus the school somehow became referred to as the Divinity School. This terminated in 1821

when Dr. McDonald, the then principal, became principal of Geneva Academy and the Theological course was transferred to Geneva. Later Dr. McDonald was one of the organizers of Hobart College and for several years its principal.

In 1816 an effort was made to make Fairfield a college and the Regents granted a charter on condition that $50,000 be raised. This proved impossible and hence the final charter was never granted.

The Medical College, which had become a part of the institution in 1809 and which was the only medical college in the state west of Albany, ceased to exist in 1840, when competition with other schools caused a diminution in the student body. And there are plenty of stories too about medical students that make good reading in our county history. The buildings used for the medical lectures and classes were then converted to the general use of the academy, and a department for women set up. The Waterman or Wood building was fitted up for that purpose. In the summer of 1844, the trustees of the Medical College granted the use of the college buildings to the academy and the "South College" was occupied as a Female Seminary. In 1852 the laboratory building was remodeled and the first floor converted into a dining hall and parlors with kitchen in the rear, and two floors above made into recitation rooms.

In 1854, under the leadership of Rev. L. R. Stebbins, the name of the institution became "Fairfield Classical Academy and Female Collegiate Institute" and many new students registered. The school continued prosperous until the beginning of the Civil War when both teachers and students left in large numbers to answer the call to the colors. Senator Mills was one of the boys to leave for war service, and there was Watson Squires and a host of others. Also among the volunteers was Rev. John B. VanPetten, principal of the Ladies Seminary, who became chaplain of the 34th Regiment N. Y. Volunteers. The school did not lack in patriotism. The exodus of the students to war and the competition of other academies from that time on reduced the student body so

much that the problem of the maintenance of the school became a major one.

In 1882, to rejuvenate the school, a new stock company was organized to raise money with which to pay debts and repair the buildings. Approximately $5,000 was raised and expended and a new charter obtained in which the name "Fairfield Seminary" was first used. The institution was then rented to Gen. Van Petten, but without success.

In 1885 new proprietors took over the institution, D. D. and F. L. Warner, and their work of restoration was most remarkable. The popularity and standing of the school was restored and modern methods put to use in administration. In 1891 the War Department installed a department of military training and detailed an officer there for the purpose of military drill. A new armory was erected and the school was again on the roster of the best in the country. It is this latter day institution with which most alumni are familiar.

The passing of the Old Fairfield Academy is regretted by all who are familiar with its distinguished past, but its attainments will never be forgotten. The advent of high schools and free academies made it necessary for the old time, privately conducted seminaries to give way.

But one of the old academy buildings now remains, the chapel building, the structure at present in use as the Fairfield Grange Hall. To loyal graduates it has been a shrine to attract them back for many years. Would it not be appropriate if this fine old building could be preserved, as are other historic buildings? Here, indeed, is a monument to education, the great moulder of democracy. Old Fairfield would continue to live in this fine old chapel and should be preserved.

THE CORRECT ARMS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

From a recently discovered painting dated 1882, now in the New York State Library

JOSEPH GAVIT *

> The arms which these fathers of the State have left us as their legacy bring us on the one hand into the direct use of a symbol which for now nearly four hundred years, when found in its appropriate place, has suggested to the mind of the beholder the interests which belong to the name of York. With the difference that the symbol of the Highlands of the Hudson being conjoined in the same shield with that of the sun, the sight now suggests to us the interests and sympathies of the people of the whole state of *New* York . . . .
>
> The briefest summary of the meaning of our arms is, that the shield symbolizes in the full sun the name and idea of *Old* York and the old world; the mountains, river and meadow, with the ships, convey the name and idea of the *New* York in the new world. This New York is supported by Justice and Liberty, and discards monarchy. By exhibiting the eastern and western continents on a globe, the old and new are brought together; while the eagle on the crest proclaims, "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

The preceding quotations are from the closing paragraphs of the second of two *Papers* on the subject of "The Correct Arms of the State of New York," read before the *Albany Institute* by Henry A. Homes, LLD., State Librarian, and Secretary to the Legislative Commission on the Correct Arms, whose report had appeared as Senate Document No. 61 of 1881. This *Second Paper* of Dr. Homes, read May 24, 1881, was published with

* Mr. Gavit retired in 1946 after fifty years on the staff of the New York State Library, the last sixteen as Senior Associate Librarian and Acting State Librarian 1938-40 and 1944-45. A brief article on "The Unrecorded State Arms of 1850" by him appears in *New York History* for January, 1948.

his *First Paper* in Vol. 10 of the Transactions of the Albany Institute. In the Session of 1882 the Legislature accepted the report of the Commission, and passed what became Chapter 190 of the Laws of 1882, re-establishing the Arms of the State of New York.

In a "note" at the end of the above mentioned Second Paper as printed, Dr. Homes made this statement:

> Four plates, illustrative of the Arms spoken of in the two preceding papers, will be found at the end of this volume (of Proceedings). The drawing of the Arms on Plate IV is unsatisfactory in its outlines and expression, but conforms to the description of them as given by the Commissioners. In the absence of a more artistic representation of them, it has been necessary to print it. It is not a drawing of what has been definitely adopted . . . .

The photographic presentation herewith is from what is believed to be that "more artistic representation," prepared after the law was passed in September of 1882, or from Plate IV, for adoption by the Legislature. The original painting, now in the State Library, has on the back of it: "Arms of the State of New York 1882," and was turned up in Saratoga by a second-hand book scout, possibly from the former possessions of the late Senator Edgar Truman Brackett. The significance of the name "J. Macdonough," also on the back of the painting, has not been determined. From this painting, it would appear, all other contemporary illustrations of the Arms of 1882 were made, particularly those on the title page and Plate K of the Civil List of 1885, and the second stone for the Washington Monument, besides all the official seals required to be prepared and used, under Chapter 190 of the Laws of 1882. It is altogether likely that more than one such painting was made, but no other copy has been seen.

In the final paragraph of an article on the "Unrecorded State Arms of 1850" which appeared in the January 1948 issue of *New York History*, I remarked on the omission from the representations of the Arms of the "face in the sun," from the Legislative Manuals after 1942. The omission has since, with apparent approval of the Secretary of State, become more general, illustrations of the Arms in recent editions of dictionaries

and encyclopedias being similarly incorrect and illegal. We are now definitely sure that the face in the sun was in the Arms as re-established, so no matter what heraldic significance it has, any seals, flags, official illustrations, etc., that omit it are in violation of that law, which no one has authority to change without Legislative action. Its omission leaves out all reference to York, rendering the Arms meaningless.

But Dr. Homes filled eight pages of his *Second Paper* on the subject, with the history of the use of the "full sun" in the Arms, as dating from the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, February 2, 1461, when Edward IV "gave the sun in his full brightness for his badge or cognizance," he having been Duke of York; and as being the "sun of York" on which the Duke of Gloster soliloquizes in Shakespeare's Richard III:

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by this sun of York.

This Full sun was used by Edward IV on a gold coin called the "Rose Noble"; by Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; by James I on the sovereign; by James II, formerly Duke of York, on a new seal for the Colony, sent to Governor Dongan in 1687. It appears again in 1777 (Plate F. in the Civil List of 1886) on the Great Seal of the State of New York, and in the various representations of the State Arms, finally to be re-established in the Correct Arms in 1882. All this is fully and interestingly related in his two *Papers* by Dr. Homes, and referred to in the Civil Lists of the 1880's.

Doubtless we are of the Old School, and some will say of this matter, "Who cares today for a cognizance of Edward IV, now getting to be 500 years old?" But we have lately spent much time and money on Freedom Trains to promote interest in and respect for things American and of New York. Yet the State Arms on the outside of the cars of New York's Freedom Train are incorrect, though those on the commissions of the Commissioners are beautifully perfect because this form plate was engraved before the date, when the idea of omitting the face was put forward. At the time when the Commission on the Correct Arms was appointed in 1880, it was stated by the then Governor that there were a hundred forms of arms in official use, no one of them correct. Is it not worth while to stop the sloppy performance under the law now, before we dress the supporters in the current fashion?

NEW YORK STATE ANTIQUES

EDITED BY

JANET R. MACFARLANE

HISTORICAL AUTOGRAPHS AS A HOBBY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTOR

JOSEPH E. FIELDS, M. D. *

Our nation was the last of the world's great nations to provide for the preservation of its records. For decades our state and national records were lost, strayed, or stolen. They have been sold for waste paper, burned, and sold to collectors and dealers. Private enterprise, in the form of dealers and collectors, has come to the rescue in many instances. Because of the monetary value such manuscripts have had on the autograph market, quantities of records have been salvaged that ordinarily would have been destroyed. Some of these records find their way back to archives, libraries, and historical societies by way of gift and purchase. Had it not been for collectors with an enthusiastic interest in history, a sentimental interest in the written word, and a keen sense of monetary value, millions of our public records would be irretrievably lost. Certainly great credit is due the collectors of this nation who, for the past two hundred years, have preserved much valuable material. It is from such sources that the backbone of our history is built. Totally unwarranted is the statement made by our National Archives, several years ago, in which collectors were classed with dampness, insects, and fires as one of the principal ravagers of our public records.

Most of the libraries and historical societies have acquired good portions of their manuscript collections through the generosity of private collectors. Among some of the notable examples are the Emmet Collection at the New York Public Library, the Gratz Collection and the Dreer Collection at the Pennsylvania Historical Society. There are numerous other examples. Not only are such collections superb examples of autographic material

* Dr. Fields is President of the National Society of Autograph Collectors.

but they have tremendous value from an educational standpoint as source material for important historical research. There have been some notable instances in which institutions have purchased collections from private collectors.

In a few instances the more affluent collectors have built fine libraries and research institutions around their collections. I refer to such institutions as the Morgan Library in New York, the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, and the Clements Library at Ann Arbor. Without the collecting instinct, the keen appreciation of fine quality, and the generosity of such men, much would have been lost to posterity and undoubtedly a great deal of valuable material destroyed or dispersed. I am convinced that such institutions have made their material accessible to a greater number of people than if the same material were buried in a public library or inaccessible hall of archives. Fortunately the spirit of the collector benefactor has been maintained by the institution, in some instances, long after he has passed on.

Recently we have had bleats of lament about our tax laws eliminating the possibility of financial giants who might create or endow great collections of books or manuscripts or art. Let us not weep loudly as long as an interest in collecting manuscripts continues and as long as people continue to be interested in two dollar source manuscripts. We must keep working together to accomplish even better ends. The collector of medium-priced items many times over has justified himself and proved his usefulness.

Let us not lose sight of the fact that some fine historical and literary research has been done by private collectors of autographs and manuscripts. Let me cite a few examples. For forty years Boyd Stutler, who in private life is editor of the *American Legion Magazine*, has been collecting and meticulously culling literally everything on the John Brown theme. He has tens of thousands of books, clippings and memorabilia concerning this interesting phase of our history. Most important of all he has one of the three largest collections of John Brown letters. Ultimately it will be the largest, for he continues to add to his collection. Stutler is well known for his many articles on Brown and the excellent quality of research he produces on his favorite subject. Certainly no professional or amateur today would dare publish any research on Brown or the radical abolitionist move-

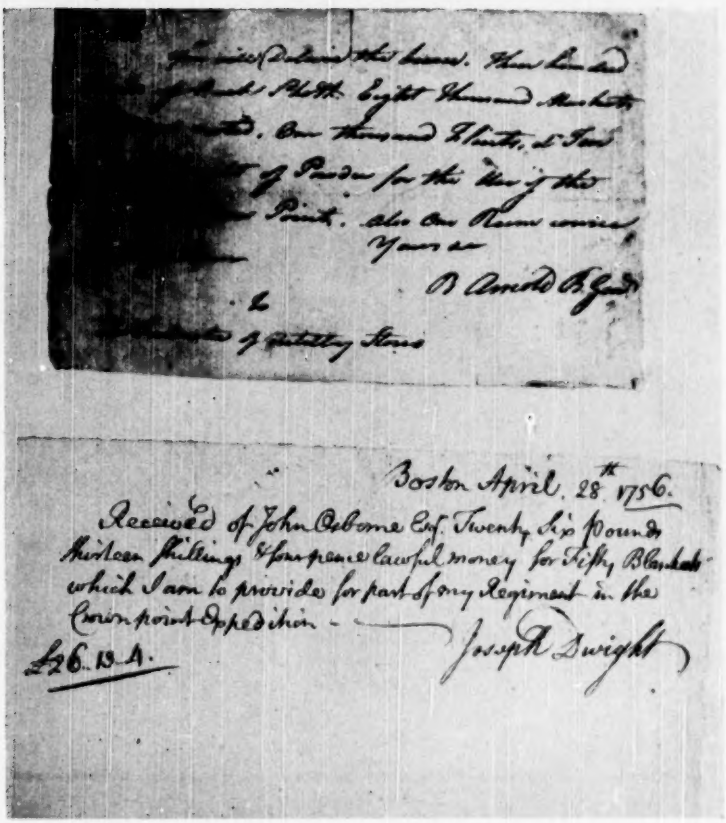
ment without first consulting this generous and kindly collector.

Another collector who has produced a fine piece of historical research is Otto Eisenschiml of Chicago. By profession he is a chemist and the head of a large oil company. His researches into the assassination of Lincoln are well known. Eisenschiml's collection is composed of manuscripts, broadsides, and memorabilia concerned with the tragedy of Lincoln's death. I would hesitate to say that Eisenschiml has exhausted the subject, but I do know he is familiar with all the known available material.

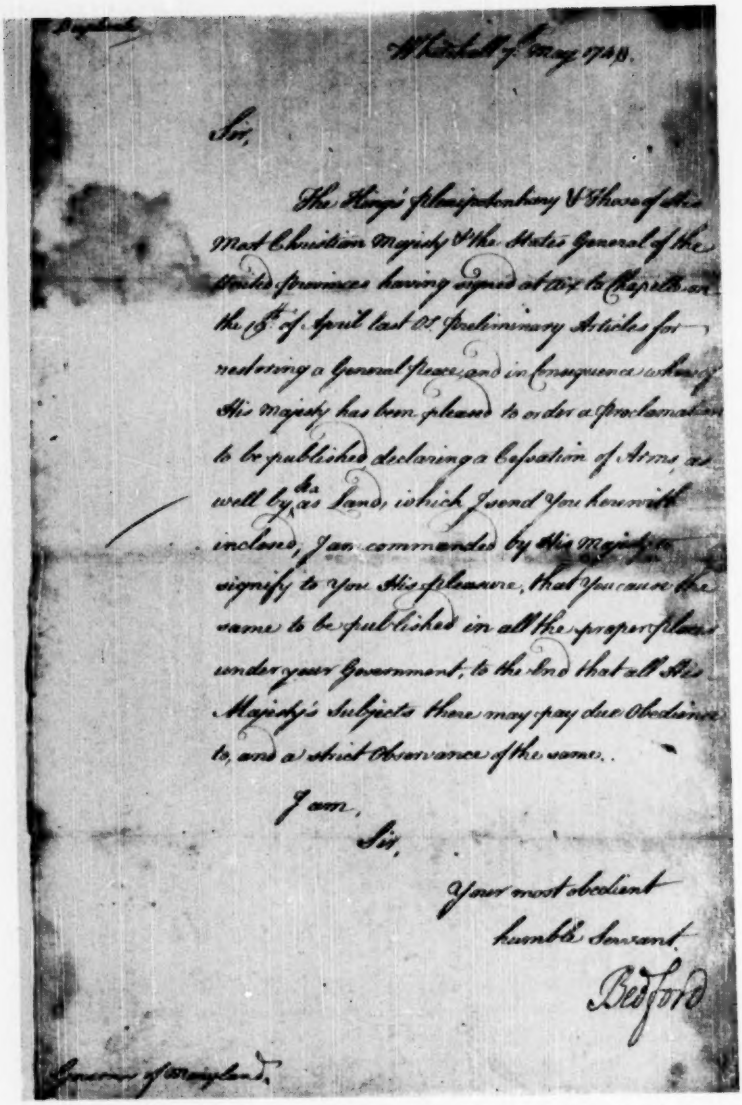
Roy Bird Cook of Charleston, West Virginia is another example of a collector who has done an outstanding piece of scholarly research. Mr. Cook's interest is "Stonewall" Jackson and his recent biographical work is considered most authoritative on this interesting figure. George Scheer of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, promotion manager for the University of North Carolina Press, and currently writing the definitive biography of General Francis Marion, is also doing outstanding work. These are only a few of the many business men who collect autographs and conduct historical research of top quality.

Collectors have played an important part in sharing their material with scholars who are engaged in historical investigation. Of the recent Lincoln works, none could have reached their present state of excellence without the cooperation of such collectors as Oliver Barrett, John McClelland (whose collection now is at Brown University) and other Lincoln enthusiasts. Julian Boyd and Lyman Butterfield, editor and assistant editor respectively, of the forthcoming *Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* have leaned heavily on private collectors in their efforts toward definitiveness. Douglas Southall Freeman is doing likewise with his current work on Washington. No serious historical writer today will overlook the private collector as a source of material.

A number of collectors have made excellent use of their collections by displaying them as visual teaching aids to history in elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. Many of the school children of Michigan have learned more history because Dr. Otto Fisher of Detroit, an enterprising collector of excellent taste, has sent his collection far and wide to be viewed and enjoyed by them. Charles S. Slack of Marietta, Ohio built his collection with the sole thought in mind of exhibiting it for the enjoyment and enlightenment of the college students and


Boston April. 28th 1756.
Received of John Osborne Esq. Twenty Six Pounds thirteen Shillings & four pence Lawful money for fifty Blankets which I am to provide for part of my Regiment in the Crown point Expedition -
£26.13.4.
Joseph Dwight

Above: Benedict Arnold orders supplies for the building of his fleet on Lake Champlain.
Below: A low-priced autograph with important historical connections. Joseph Dwight was second in command at Lewisburgh and commanded the Massachusetts men on Lake Champlain in the second Freneh war.


England

Whitehall 5th May 1748.

Sir,

The Kings of Great Britain & those of the Most Christian Majesty & the States General of the United Provinces having signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 18th of April last Articles for restoring a General Peace, and in consequence whereof His Majesty has been pleased to order a Proclamation to be published declaring a Cessation of Arms, as well by Sea as Land, which I send you herewith inclosed, I am commanded by His Majesty to signify to you His pleasure, that you cause the same to be published in all the proper places under your Government, to the End that all His Majesty's Subjects there may pay due Obedience to, and a strict Observance of the same.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Bedford

Governor of Maryland.

The Duke of Bedford notifies Governor Ogle of Maryland of the cessation of war between Britain and France. An important autograph of low price.

people of his community. It reposes at Marietta College and consists of one page letters suitable for display. A great many collectors are putting on community autograph exhibitions and giving informed talks on the subject. If people see history as it is written by its participants they find it interesting and exciting.

The Language of the Collector

Autograph collectors, like all other collectors, have a vocabulary that is unique with them. The terminology is descriptive and simple.

An *Autographed Letter Signed* (A.L.S.) means that the manuscript is a letter bearing a salutation and a complimentary close. It further means the letter has been entirely written by the author of the letter as well as signed by him.

A *Letter Signed* (L.S.) signifies that the letter has been written by a clerk or secretary and signed by the sender.

An *Autographed Document Signed* (A.D.S.) signifies that the manuscript is a legal, commercial, or military document, entirely in the handwriting of the person who has attached his signature.

The *Document Signed* (D.S.) signifies that the legal or commercial document has been written by a clerk or secretary and signed by another person. It may also be a printed form and signed.

An *Autographed Letter* (A. L.) means that the letter is entirely in the hand of the author but remains unsigned. Likewise the *Autographed Document* (A. D.) signifies that the document is in the hand of the author but is unsigned by him.

Not infrequently letters were written in the third person and were not signed, the name of the writer appearing in the body of the letter. These are usually put in the category with A.L.S.'s.

With regard to literary manuscripts, the word "manuscript" (Ms.) may be substituted for the word "letter." For instance, we may have an A. Ms., an A. Ms. S., or an Ms. S. In the first instance the manuscript is in the handwriting of the author but unsigned. In the second, the manuscript is in the handwriting of and signed by the author. In the last, the manuscript may be in the handwriting of another, printed, or typed and signed by the author.

Thus we see the terminology of the autograph collector is elementary and with a few minutes practice almost anyone can be quite familiar with the vocabulary of the collector. Very few hobbies have such a scarcity of technical terms.

The Building of an Autograph Collection

Let us first differentiate between the true autograph collector and the so-called autograph hunter. The latter are those enthusiasts who camp at the stage door and are continually thrusting their pens and notebooks into the faces of current celebrities of stage, screen and radio. Their audacity is exceeded only by their persistence. On an only slightly higher plane are those autograph hounds who, by one ruse or another, manage to wheedle out a letter or signature from some prominent figure. This is usually done by mail and humorous indeed are the various wily methods that have been used to obtain the desired signatures. As the late Tom Madigan once said, "the autograph fiend gets for nothing what is generally valueless." These people are interested only in the acquisition of a signature which of course has little importance when it stands alone.

Far removed from these "mosquitoes of literature," (as Horace Greeley called them), are the true collectors. They are the students of the great events of the past and the present. They are required to possess an average amount of intelligence, patience, a great deal of judgment, and some financial resources. I do not mean to infer that serious collectors are not interested in current celebrities or people of present day world prominence. They are not interested in their mere signatures but they are interested in what those people write concerning their thoughts, opinions, and comments on various subjects. In the future such opinions will become sources of history. Serious collectors do not limit themselves to old manuscripts. They can be modern in their choice of material but they must be interested in something more than signatures to be classified as true collectors. Nor do I mean to condemn the autograph collector who forms his collection without cost to himself by corresponding with people of prominence on important topics of the day, providing they do not make pests of themselves. Such letters do have importance if they reflect the thoughts of the writer.

The collector will, early in his experience, materially improve

his chances as a collector by seeking the advice and counsel of reputable dealers. The collector should realize the dealers are his best friends and have his best interests at heart. There are a number of fine trustworthy dealers in this country. They are ready, willing, and able to give sound advice. No dealer today can afford to be less than one hundred percent trustworthy. The collector should acquaint his dealers of his desires and interests so that they may better serve him. Further, I should like to urge all collectors to seek the advice and counsel of their fellow collectors. I have found them all anxious to help and pass on the experience and knowledge to one who is inexperienced or in need of help. The National Society of Autograph Collectors has this as one of its principal functions.

The novice collector should snoop around before he decides on what to collect. His ideas become crystalized into a certain pattern due to his reading and study. His imagination is stirred and he finally becomes interested in a particular field and limits himself to that field of interest. As his knowledge grows, he becomes a specialist.

Some collectors prefer not to specialize and I have seen some excellent general collections in which the owners had a profound knowledge of many of the various special fields and possessed outstanding autographic examples that would grace the collection of the most meticulous. One such collector is my good friend Dr. Frank Pleadwell of Honolulu. I know of no general collection that can surpass it nor do I know of *any* collector who knows more about his material than does the good Doctor. Most dealers are of the opinion that there is a greater trend toward specialized collections. Even new collectors are forming collections that are limited to a special field of interest. Probably this is occasioned by the fact that they had their interest sharpened to a keen edge before beginning their collections. I cannot urge sufficiently that the novice collector decide on a specific field of interest and have a definite objective in mind soon after he begins the long and exciting adventure that lies before him.

To even enumerate the various collections that might be formed would consume many pages. The possibilities are legion. The subjects around which a collection may be built are limited only by the imagination and desires of the collector and the availability of autographic material. I shall say nothing about

what to collect. What is most important is that we want more people *to* collect. What shall they collect? Whatever interests each the most after a look into collecting in general.

I should like to offer a word of warning. It is easy to lapse into a habit of collecting the great and near great and to forget the less prominent participants in some event, whose word picture may be much more reliable and vastly more interesting than that of their more celebrated colleague.

Recently I was privileged to see an extensive group of letters from a private soldier in the Union Army, camped before Petersburg. Many interesting details of camp life were given and the letters were profusely illustrated with drawings. As source material these letters are without comparison and are extremely valuable, even though they were written by a soldier in the ranks. It was the letter of a member of the audience in Ford's Theater that explained the strange angle the bullet took from the gun of Booth into the brain of Lincoln.

Before me I have a letter written by Ebenezer Storer, comparatively an unknown figure in Colonial history. Certainly his autograph would be practically worthless on a document or random letter. What makes this letter of considerable value is his report of the tragic defeat of the British and Colonial forces before Ticonderoga, by the French in 1758.

Also before me I have a manuscript diary written by the Reverend Samuel MacClintock, chaplain in the colonial militia. This little known divine recounts in his diary the perilous march from Number Four (now Charlestown, N. H.) to the fort at Isle Aux Nois, its capture from the French, and their retreat up the Richelieu River.

It was the diaries of the little known men who accompanied the gallant Arnold on his March to Quebec, as well as the diaries of the more renowned, that furnished Kenneth Roberts much of the material used in the writing of his historical novel, *Arundel*. Let us not forsake fine source material in manuscript form simply because it is not in the handwriting of a prominent figure. A great deal of important material would thus be forsaken and some inside glimpses of history lost to view.

Concerning Prices

I shall not make an attempt here to settle the question of what constitutes a fair price for an autograph but I should like

to dispel one false rumor. Autograph collecting need not be an expensive hobby and it need not be one in which only the wealthy may indulge. Prices are surprisingly low. One important collection bearing solely on one important event in the history of our country was built for a comparatively small sum by a man of modest means. That man is our outstanding authority on that event.

Just what constitutes a fair price for an autograph is a most difficult question and one that has not been adequately answered, notwithstanding many discussions among dealers and collectors.

There are certain standard prices for autographs that are more or less adhered to by the trade. Experience has enabled them to fix a certain price on a given item. Nine times out of ten the various dealers will agree on a price, to a degree that is truly amazing.

The most potent factors in the determination of the price of an autograph are contents, rarity, and competitive demand. Other factors enter into the question but are of lesser importance. They are: length, date, type of autograph (A.L.S., A.D.S., etc.), association with other prominent personages, and condition. Of all these, contents is the most important. It is here that a knowledge of the subject is most important, for such knowledge will enable the collector to recognize letters of good content and will also enable him to obtain the maximum amount of pleasure from his manuscripts.

Some Pitfalls of Collecting

Just as the stamp, coin, art and antique collector must beware of forgers, so must the autograph collector. There have been some notable forgers as well as equally notable attempts at the base art. Fortunately, both are usually unmasked. It is the duty of all dealers and collectors, both private and institutional to aid in the detection of forgeries, for nothing is so detrimental to collecting and nothing is so apt to turn one away from collecting as being taken in by a fake.

Space will not permit a full discussion of forgeries. I should like, however, to point out that the purchase of autographs from reputable dealers is one of the best assurances that such material is genuine. All such dealers operate on a money back

guarantee, a proof of their honesty and good intentions. Such is not the habit of the forger.

It is extremely difficult for the forger to produce a letter or document that will pass inspection before the critical eyes of the intelligent and astute dealers and collectors. In the first place, they usually peddle their wares to the unsuspecting at ridiculously low prices, taking advantage of the greed of the collector. The forger many times will make errors of historical fact in his productions. He may place the writer of a letter at a place contrary to known historical fact. Or, he may include misstatements of fact in the letters that the observing may detect. A knowledge of paper and of ink is an invaluable aid in the expertizing of autographs.

No forger has ever been able to duplicate the delicate shade of brown and the deep black of old ink. Albeit some excellent attempts have been made. The answer lies in the chemical content of the inks. Certain inks, like paper, have been used at various periods and these periods have been quite accurately determined.

In addition there are the peculiarities of handwriting that are characteristic of the signer. By means of comparison, use of facsimiles, photostats, and originals, similarities or differences may be utilized as an aid in authentication.

Another pitfall into which the unwary sometimes fall is that of the facsimile. Not unseldom have certain famous letters been reproduced in facsimile, using printer's ink and a paper which appears to be old. Some examples are: General Lee's Order No. 9; Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixby, as well as several other Lincoln letters; one of John Brown's last letters before he was executed; Byron's letter to Galignani; and Franklin's letter to Strahan. These, along with many others, were issued as souvenirs, advertisements, and illustrations in books and auction catalogues. They are usually peddled by the unsuspecting to dealers and collectors. Study of the paper reveals significant incongruities. The ink is usually of a dull black shade, as distinguished from India ink that has a characteristic sheen to it. There are no delicate shadings of the ink and instead of the smooth flow of the ink from one letter to another there are definite breaks where the ink has failed of absorption into the paper. Ink eradicator will not affect printer's ink. When it is applied to other types of ink, regardless of age, the ink will fade.

Not infrequently in the great adventure of manuscript collecting one sees letters or documents signed with the name of a famous individual, and yet the signature is not that of a famous one but that of another bearing the same name. Oft times it is difficult to distinguish which of these signatures is the desired one. However, a little research into the lives of the individuals, close attention to dates and places and subject matter, as well as to the physical characteristics of the handwriting, will usually clear up the confusion.

Occasionally one is privileged to see manuscripts signed, not with the name of the signer but with a sign manual, paraph, or other design. The best example of the sign manual is the cross or circle mark, made by the illiterate and labelled "his mark." It was used extensively during the middle and dark ages, by people of great prominence and who were unable to write, for education was not as universal as it is today and the clergy were almost the only individuals who had this ability. I have in my possession an excellent example of the sign manual—the enlistment papers of the Penobscot Indians into the Continental Army in September of 1776. It was signed by the Indians, using the sign manuals consisting of turtles, crosses, bears, etc.

The paraph is similar to the sign manual and consists of an intricate design which was used instead of a signature, much as a fad or as a means of concealing the identity of the writer. Allied to the paraph is the flourish so common beneath the signatures of John Hancock, President James K. Polk, and at the end of the signature of General William Moultrie.

Occasionally a figure has been used instead of a signature. The outstanding example of this is artist James McNeill Whistler, who occasionally drew a butterfly instead of signing his name.

Certain individuals of prominence have been in the habit of writing letters and leaving them unsigned. I have several letters from Sam Adams to Elbridge Gerry that are unsigned. Another signer who made an almost consistent habit of this was Arthur Middleton. Middleton, for security reasons, either did not sign his name at all or else used his initials. He was known to have used the pseudonym, Andrew Marvel. There are many other pseudonyms that will come quickly to mind.

In conclusion let me say that forgeries, facsimilies, confused

identities can be easily avoided by seeking the advice of dealers and fellow collectors and need never deter anyone from collecting.

The Care and Preservation of Manuscripts

The care of these precious documents of the past is important and demands considerable study. We shall discuss it only from the standpoint of the private collector. Formerly many collectors bound their manuscripts into large books. This method had the disadvantage of preventing the removal of any item or the insertion or substitution of another.

Following the fad for permanent binding of autographs, collectors began to merely slip them into large heavy paper folders. They were then filed in cabinets or placed flat in large boxes. This is still one of the best methods of preservation.

Within recent years there has come on the market transparent envelopes manufactured of celluloid, cellophane and cellulose acetate. The use of celluloid and cellophane is to be avoided. Certain acids are liberated from these substances which attack the paper causing it to disintegrate rapidly.

Not so, the cellulose acetate or plastic. Exhaustive chemical research by industrial chemists and the Bureau of Standards has not revealed any harmful effects on paper by these products. Objections to these have been raised by some collectors who claim that it keeps away much needed air from the paper. Under normal conditions I feel that their good far outweighs their theoretic evil, for it allows the manuscript to be viewed without being handled. I have found excessive handling to be one of the most destructive forces. The acetate envelope seems to do away with this to a large extent, without altering the original state of the document. Since it holds the document firmly it will even render repairing or silking unnecessary for it will hold cracks and fragments stationary.

Various methods of repairing damaged documents are available. There are a few expert repairers of manuscripts in America whose work is truly remarkable.

Autograph collecting is truly "the intimate hobby." Next to meeting a man and talking with him we learn more of him by reading his thoughts as he has recorded them on paper than in any other way. There is no better manner in which to gain an insight into a man's character than in reading his letters.

When we collect original manuscript source material, we are collecting the foundation stones upon which history is based. They are the ultimate source of our knowledge of any subject. Much history has been distorted by the writing of biased, incompetent and misinformed writers. Much of this could be remedied by a wider interest in collecting and a more general and efficient use of such manuscript material.

A man needs friends—he needs companionship. That is his nature. His collection and his fellow collectors will be among the most intimate friends he will ever have. Collectors speak the same language and wealth and social position are no longer a barrier, for they meet on a common ground. They are manuscriptophiles. I would never trade the many happy hours I have spent with my many collector friends and with dealers. I have learned much from them and they stand in readiness to aid the novice as well as the expert.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Economic Mind in American Civilization: Volumes I, II: 1606-1865; Volume III: 1865-1918. By JOSEPH DORFMAN. (The Viking Press, New York. Vols. I-II, 1946, Vol. III, 1949. Vols. I and II, $7.50, III, $6.00)

One thing a reviewer owes the author of so vast a work is a humble Thank You for the sheer labor incorporated in it. (A fourth volume is on its way!)

The reviewer further owes the author, as well as possible readers, the courtesy of considering what he has done in the light of what he says he tried to do:

Professor Dorfman tried to place (his selection of) the records of our economic thought in (what he regards as) their several contexts: problem-solving in everyday life, personal backgrounds and ambitions, and related areas of thought. He has succeeded in assembling in these volumes most of the factual data thus implied; they will long serve as a convenient repository of the ideas set forth, and of bibliographical and biographical information. They would be much more useful if the explanatory footnotes appeared on the appropriate page, relegating only page-reference notes to the rear; if the Indexes gave more than a list of numbers for person-entries; if the author's writing were more digestible; if his notion of context included a pattern one could follow and comprehend.

He does see a pattern in the material. In his prefaces to Volumes I and III Dorfman lays prime stress on foreign commerce as the central theme of American economic thought before 1865. The present reviewer, having read the first two volumes prior to examining either of the prefaces, had not been conscious of any such central theme. He therefore checked index entries for those two volumes. The largest number were found under "Paper Money" and "Slavery"; the next largest, under "Banking," "Free Trade," "Labor," and "Tariffs"; the index does not include any term like "Foreign Commerce." Actually, this evidence corresponds to the reviewer's impressions of the real content of the first two volumes. Dorfman has assembled the material implied by his plan, but whatever pattern his presentation may have, emphasis on foreign commerce is certainly not the central theme.

The third volume, he writes, can very easily continue the narrative from '65 on because that is the natural division point between stress on foreign commerce and stress on domestic business. Is it? One could surely argue the primacy of domestic business from the '40's on; nor would it be absurd to do so from 1814 on. The other end of the story raises similar issues. Were the Spanish-American War (mentioned very briefly), Hawaii and Panama (not mentioned at all), and the other phenomena of American imperialism examples of devotion to "domestic business?" Professor Dorfman's major categories appear to be too simple.

Although the first two volumes contain much about slavery and women the third is not developed with comparable breadth of vision. The "Economic Mind" of 1865-1918, as reported here, had virtually nothing to say about the position of women. It said nothing at all, apparently, about Reconstruction or the land question in the South; nor does it seem to have included any of the thoughts of men like Frederick Douglass, Thaddeus Stevens, or Booker T. Washington. The index to Volume III does not list these names, or "Negro," or "Vocational Training." If that is a true portrayal of our "Economic Mind," 1865-1918, comment is in order. Professor Dorfman does not offer any.

It is no answer to say, "But that's not economics." Economics overlaps other "disciplines" so often in this book (as well as in life) that the author must take the responsibility for his choices and omissions.

These weaknesses are to be attributed in part to the limitations of the sources drawn upon. Despite his vast labors he has entered on the record most incompletely the economic mind of the makers of civilization. True, little of the workers' and farmers' thinking ever reached print, but some did, more than is here indicated. The first two volumes neither discuss nor refer to the agricultural magazines and cognate literature of the Middle Period, Seth Luther is not mentioned, and the role of Marx's representative in the U.S.A. is erroneously handed to Weitling while Joseph Weydemeyer is overlooked.

It is likewise disturbing to find in the third volume no systematic presentation of the ideas of Daniel DeLeon or Eugene V. Debs—far more significant persons than some of the professors whose "contributions" draw five to ten pages each. Nor,

apparently, has any use been made of the economic thinking in the contemporary American Yiddish press. The philosophy of Samuel Gompers is reduced to a few paragraphs. That's perfectly all right—but why wasn't the same treatment given to some of the no more influential "professional economists?" One often wonders, indeed, just what determined allotments of space.

Actually, more is involved here than limitations of sources. What makes it hard to discern the pattern is the absence of that which (together with literary appeal) renders Parrington so enduring an influence—incisive judgments. Thus, for any person appearing in both Parrington and Dorfman, you may get more quantity (on details of economic theory) in Dorfman but you will assuredly get more quality (essentials of economic theory included) in Parrington. This is especially striking, by the way, in the respective discussions of the latter nineteenth century—Walker, George, Bellamy *et al.*

One cannot judge incisively without mastering significant criteria. Perhaps Dorfman has been too close to his notes. The points emphasized in his prefaces, *types of activity*, are not basic *theoretical* issues. Far more important than the shift he stresses was the shelving of classical theory, with its production ("labor") theory of value, in favor of marginal utility, a consumption theory of value. Classical theory had recognized that the key to the distribution of values produced is the social relations of production—the relationships between employers and employees. But the growth of worker consciousness and organization made that theory dangerous because it was so enlightening. New ones were therefore propounded which diverted the inquiring mind from production relations to consumption, wherein employers and employees disappeared into a single mass of consumers-exercising-choices. That consumptionist ideas like marginal utility became popular among American economists precisely in the 70's, when trusts and unions were rising fast, is at least a remarkable coincidence.

Dorfman notes the change, and traces it to influences from Europe. But he does not explain it. Indeed, the vital distinction between the production-type theory and the consumption-type theory is blurred in this book: Dorfman says that Jevons, a prime formulator of the latter, departed very little from classical premises, logic, or conclusions (which supported the

former)! Let us hope a better job is done with Keynesianism in Volume IV.

Really to explain these phenomena calls for a broader notion of context than is displayed in the present work. Where a limited outlook and the absence of sharp judgments can lead is gruesomely demonstrated in the author's summary of his discussion on "The Impact of" the first World War. "The war period," he begins, "made clear to the public and the government of the United States that economic science could be of great use in a national emergency. . . ." (III:493). There are a few more similarly dispassionate, appreciative sentences about the economists. "They worked; therefore they were truth" is what he says in effect, after the fashion of the late William James. But that is horribly wrong. Is nothing to be recalled of the nature of that "national emergency?" Shall we forget the courageous minority who were persecuted for refusing to lend their talents to such "use?" Nowhere has this reviewer seen more convincing evidence of the moral bankruptcy of pragmatism.

The story of our economic mind cannot be told in a thorough manner without the bold use of criteria—morality included. To take the emphases found in certain records and report them almost literally is necessary but not sufficient. Whatever is found must be *evaluated*, in terms of the struggles and events history has already marked, "of basic importance."

Brooklyn Public Library SIDNEY L. JACKSON

Gentleman's Progress. The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744. Edited by CARL BRIDENBAUGH. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948. Pp. xxxii, 267. $4.00)

Accounts of travel in the American Colonies are numerous, and some of them cover much of the Atlantic seaboard, but none have that wide geographical spread combined with sprightly comments except Dr. Alexander Hamilton's narrative of his travels from Maryland to Maine in 1744. A physician of Annapolis, in the eighteenth century a leading center of cultural and social activities, Dr. Hamilton decided on a tour of the northern

colonies as an aid to recovery from a debilitating illness. Starting in May, riding his horse and accompanied by his Negro slave Dromo, the physician in four months traveled by horseback and sloop 1614 miles, observing places and people and recording his frank opinions in a daily journal. The republication of this *Itinerarium*, issued originally in 1907 in an edition limited to 487 copies, makes available to all students of the Colonial period this eminently readable and informative commentary.

Dr. Hamilton's diary provides vivid and nearly photographic glimpses of trade, travel, social life, and intellectual activity, and it shows what people were wearing, eating and drinking, building and planning, buying and selling, reading and thinking, and talking about in the America of 1744. There are notes on conditions of travel, including the existence of a great many ferries, and also the prohibition of movement on Sundays in Rhode Island. There are details on the clergy and the medical men of the various places visited, and the descriptions of the numerous clubs for discussion and sociability introduce the thought that twentieth century Americans might benefit from similiar gatherings if they would take the time to relax.

Comments range from the origin of the title of "rattlesnake colonel" (p. 77), through contrast of Newport's pretty women and Albany's ugly ones, to judgment on the artistic productions of painters Robert Feke and John Smibert. One of the most humorous passages relates a conversation in Portsmouth, N. H., which illustrates the overpowering inquisitiveness of the native American (p. 124). Almost modern touches appear in an Albany surgeon's description of the "socialized medicine" practiced in that city (pp. 65-66), and in a Newport tavernkeeper's suggestions for a trans-isthmian canal (pp. 154-55).

The format of the volume is attractive, and the reproductions of Dr. Hamilton's sketches from the minutes of Annapolis' Tuesday Club (manuscript in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society) add flavor to the text. Dr. Bridenbaugh's introduction provides an excellent background canvas for the details of the Hamilton journal. Notes identifying and explaining persons, places, and things are grouped in one section at the end. (This reviewer happens to prefer such supplemental data on the appropriate pages, but it is largely a matter of personal taste.) The end papers provide maps showing the route followed by Dr. Hamilton in his wanderings. The book will

make a worthwhile addition to the library of any enthusiast of Colonial history.

Loyola College, Baltimore — William D. Hoyt, Jr.

The Violent Men: A Study of Human Relations in the First American Congress. By Cornelia Meigs. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 278. $4.00)

Miss Meigs, a professor of English at Bryn Mawr, is best known to the public as a prolific writer of stories and plays, most of them in the juvenile field. Her latest book, however, is a serious venture in history for grown-ups, and as such it is entitled to serious consideration in historical journals.

Its subject is the Continental Congress from its beginning in 1774 to the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776, a subject that was suggested to the author, in some way not specified, by Dr. Sioussat (whose first name, by the way, is St. George, not "St. John," as given in a note of acknowledgments) when he was Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Miss Meigs' predominant historical interest, as her title indicates, is biographical; her aim was to depict what she calls the "human detail" of an institution and the leading personalities of a great movement at a crisis in our history. On the whole, she has been distinctly successful, and at times she has shown constructive historical imagination and real literary power.

Meticulous historical scholars may occasionally be disturbed by an erroneous or dubious statement, a faulty implication, or the neglect of a point of view that ought to have been presented. It would serve no useful purpose to compile a list of such of these as have been noted, but a single example may be pointed out. Miss Meigs evidently accepts the opinion that the Constitution of the United States, in the thought and intention of its framers, represented a fulfillment of the democratic principles implied in the political theory of the American Revolution (page 4), rather than a reaction against those principles, and in support of this view she could without difficulty have cited great names. But there is another point of view, represented notably by J. Allen Smith in his *Spirit of American Government* and Charles A. Beard in his *Economic Interpre-*

tation of the Constitution. In their opinion, which is entitled to consideration, the Constitution, in the intent of the framers, was counter-revolutionary and anti-democratic.

A well constructed drama requires a hero and a villain, and Miss Meigs has not failed us here. The hero is John Adams, in spite of "certain shortcomings in personal character." The villain is Joseph Galloway. Other members of the Congress are permitted to approach Adams in patriotic virtue, but Galloway is left alone on his bad eminence. In Miss Meigs' eyes, Galloway, seemingly, could do no right—except to present her with the title of her book, for it was he who referred privately to the New England delegates to the Congress in 1774 and their friends as the "violent" party. She has made no real effort to understand Galloway's political and imperial ideas or to do justice to him as a man. If his Plan of Union was as bad as she thinks, if it was a "dangerous project" (page 63) which would have been "the ruin of America" (page 110), it seems strange that it came so near being approved by the Congress; and if Galloway was such a mere self-seeker and generally contemptible sort of person as he appears in these pages, it seems strange that he held the position he did for so many years in Pennsylvania politics and society and enjoyed the friendship and confidence of such a man as Benjamin Franklin.

And Miss Meigs could have done better with Galloway, for she is at her best in thumb-nail character sketching, vivid description, and literary exploitation of the dramatic. Her description, for example, of John Dickinson's state of mind in the night of July 1, 1776, when he knew that the Congress was going to vote in favor of independence the next day, shows historically informed imaginative power of a high order. She knows how to create atmosphere, she is skillful in the art of literary suspense, she can write about exciting things excitingly. Her book deserves to appeal to a wide range of readers, and even professional students of history can learn a good deal from it in matters of literary technique.

Columbia University ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It. By Richard Hofstadter. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1948. Pp. xi, 378. $4.00)

Dr. Hofstadter has written in brilliant fashion a very provocative book, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It.* The work tends to make the reader think, and in thinking he frequently questions the generalizations which the author makes. The reader realizes that these generalizations are basically correct, but the author's interpretation often can be questioned on grounds of validity. There can be no dispute about the men included among those who made American political tradition. Certainly Jefferson, Jackson, Calhoun, Cleveland, Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Hoover, and Franklin Roosevelt cannot be omitted, but the reviewer wonders why Hamilton, John Marshall, Henry Clay, and perhaps Wendell Willkie were not included. They surely contributed more to tradition than did Wendell Phillips, who is included in the author's tradition-making list.

As has been mentioned, the ideas are brilliantly presented, in a fresh and impressive manner. Not all the subjects are treated with equal skill, however; the articles on Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson present the foremost throught and penetrating characterization.

A few quotes will indicate some of the attitudes expressed, which show changing tradition or perhaps the author's efforts to "debunk." John Adams wrote to a friend: "Remember, democracy never lasts long. It soons wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide." And of Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Hofstadter says: "No aristocrat, reared in a society rent by such a gulf between rich and poor, learned and unlearned, could be quite the democrat Jefferson imagined himself. . . . An element of gentle condescension is unmistakable in his democracy." Because Andrew Jackson "came into prominence on the Tennessee frontier, he has often been set down as typical of the democratic frontiersman . . . . From the beginning of his career . . . he considered himself to be and was accepted as an aristocrat, and his tastes, manners, and style of life were shaped accordingly." Theodore Roosevelt "despised the rich, but he feared the mob." Writing on the 1930's, the author says: "At the heart of the New Deal

there was not a philosophy but a temperament. The essence of this temperament was Roosevelt's confidence that even when he was operating in unfamiliar territory he could do no wrong, commit no serious mistakes."

One of the theses of Dr. Hofstadter's book is contained in the introduction. "But beginning with the time of Bryan, the dominant American ideal has been steadily fixed on bygone institutions and conditions. In early twentieth-century progressivism this backward-looking vision reached the dimensions of a major paradox. Such heroes of the progressive revival as Bryan, LaFollette, and Wilson proclaimed they were trying to undo the mischief of the past forty years and re-create the old nation of limited and decentralized power . . . ." It is true that such men talked in Jeffersonian terms—or in Theodore Roosevelt's case, in Hamiltonian terms, their actions bore little reference to their speech.

The chief criticism of *The American Political Tradition* is the absence of footnotes. Dr. Hofstadter could have performed an outstanding service by giving the sources of his numerous quotations and references. Yet this criticism is overshadowed by the excellent presentation of his material, and the reviewer recommends this book for those who like stimulating, provocative history.

Syracuse University — O. T. BARCK, JR.

Magazines in the United States. Their Social and Economic Influence. By JAMES PLAYSTED WOOD. (The Ronald Press, New York [c. 1949]. Pp. x, 312. $4.00)

After the publication of the monumental Pulitzer-Prize-winning *History of American Magazines* by Frank Luther Mott, it requires some audacity to get out a one-volume survey of American magazines, half of which at least is historical background. For the first few chapters one wonders if this is an anti-climax. But the effort is justified; the conception is original and the treatment is fresh and well written.

What Mr. Wood has attempted is a survey of the American magazines of today in light of the background. He has chosen to single out certain examples, such as Dennie's *Port Folio*, which he likens to the present-day *New Yorker*. Farm maga-

zines are treated with emphasis on *The Country Gentleman*, one of the oldest in continuous publication and one of the most important today. *The Ladies Home Journal* is featured among women's magazines, and certainly there is no cavil at the influence of Edward W. Bok. Yet the author does seem to favor the Curtis publications.

An admirer of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Mr. Wood repeats the old legend (pp. 10, 13, 143) that the present *Post* is a continuation of Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The facts are that the *Gazette* discontinued in 1815 (see Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, II, 933-34), and the *SEP* began in 1821. That it occupied the site once occupied by the *Gazette*, and that one of its backers once was connected with his paper, is a very tenuous connection with Franklin.

Like other writers, the author emphasizes the literary significance of our early magazines and their importance in various reform movements. But he is more concerned than some have been with the development of magazine techniques. He reaches his stride in dealing with McClure's in the muckraking era, and in treating the magazines of our time. In fact he is best in describing the recent magazine revolution which brought such phenomenal developments as *Time*, *Life*, *Reader's Digest*, and the *New Yorker*. Here, of course, he has the advantage of contemporary analysis. This is good journalistic history.

Wherein the author is least successful is in the justification of his sub-title, "Their Social and Economic Influence." There are chapters on "Advertising as a Social and Economic Force," with the usual claims for national advertising; on "Influence on the Reader," principally an account of how influential some articles and authors have been; on magazines in two World Wars; on the problems of magazine publishing; and on "magazines as national newspapers." These do not amount to an economic and social survey, except so far as they quote authorities on audience reaction and the statistics on readers. There is no doubt room for a study of magazines as an economic and social force, such as Alfred McClung Lee's *Daily Newspaper in America* provided for the newspaper press. No doubt the author did not mean such an ambitious interpretation as his subtitle suggests. Yet this is a good book for the general reader and a wel-

come contribution to the literature on the American magazine.

Division of Archives and History, Albany, N. Y. MILTON W. HAMILTON

Domestic Manners of the Americans. By FRANCES TROLLOPE. Edited, with a history of Mrs. Trollope's Adventures in America by Donald Smalley. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1949. Pp. lxxxiii, 954, xix. $5.00)

She was the talk of Cincinnati in the year 1829—that 49-year-old British lady, Mrs. Frances Trollope, who had come from London to found a department store on the Ohio River. The simple pioneer folks, who watched her "air castle" going up, did not know what to make of it. The Trollope Bazaar seemed to be a Turkish Babel—a mixture of "the Mosque of St. Athanase, in Egypt," plus "the temple of Appollinopolis at Etfou" and a couple of other buildings. As well as supplying high-priced fancy goods sent by Mrs. Trollope's husband from England, this amazing shop had a ballroom decorated by the owner's French companion Auguste Hervieu in "the style of the Alhambra," and would dispense foreign culture to the crude frontier town. The rough settlers of early Cincinnati could do without personal improvement. But they flocked to an easy mark. "Every rogue within cheating distance" was soon at work on the Bazaar, selling its crazy owner bricks at three times the market price, laying "gas pipes" that conducted nothing but a flow of hot air. The bubble burst when Dame Trollope, bankrupt and bitter, fled back to England, leaving the citizens of Cincinnati to guffaw every time they looked at the monstrosity known as "Trollope's Folly."

Two years later their laughter changed to howls of pain that resounded all over America. For Frances Trollope had her revenge. When she came to America in 1827, Mrs. Trollope had not intended to write a book. She had come to see her friend Frances Wright's co-operative enterprise in Tennessee, and to make money by establishing a store in Cincinnati. Her husband was ailing in England. She had five children to support. A keen observer, Frances Trollope kept notebooks of her American journey. But it was only when her Cincinnati scheme proved disastrous that she turned these writings to account. If the depart-

ment store had not failed, her impressions of America might have been less bitter. Then we would have missed this witty book, one of the most caustic reports every written on the United States.

Every well-read person has heard of *Domestic Manners of the Americans*—the book that Frances Trollope wrote back in England about her adventures in Andrew Jackson's America. More than a century later its acid comments on U. S. morals and manners still make it entertaining reading. It should be read along with other travel books written by sharp-tempered tourists: Captain Basil Hall's *Travels in North America* (1829); Charles Dickens' *American Notes* (1842); Matthew Arnold's *Civilization in the United States* (1888); C. E. M. Joad's *The Babbitt Warren* (1926).

In the new edition of Mrs. Trollope's book, with the original illustrations by Auguste Hervieu, the French painter who accompanied her to Cincinnati, Editor Donald Smalley of the University of Illinois has given us material never before printed. He has had access through the Trollope family to the notebooks on which the book was based. By means of enlightening foot notes and a biographical introduction, Professor Smalley has given a long-famous manuscript the necessary historical background to explain the text.

It is true that Author Trollope, frequently gullible and superficial, says too much about tobacco chewing and the spitting of "gentlemen" (?) who, their feet up on the backs of chairs, deluged her skirts with a running fire of mis-spits. The genteel lady was shocked by the table manners of her fellow travelers on the Mississippi who reeked of whiskey, ate with a knife and grabbed for the "viands." Nor had she any use for the theory of equality as practised in America. The Americans' "coarse familiarity" would open the eyes of Europeans who admired democracy from a safe distance, she reported—"it will be found less palatable when it presents itself in the shape of a hard, greasy paw." Her satire had a basis of fact. But it angered Dame Trollope's first American readers. Their howls of outrage however sold the book so well both in the U. S. and abroad that *Domestic Manners* made the impoverished Frances Trollope the best-known and worst-hated author in America, and more than recouped the money lost in Cincinnati.

She wrote twenty novels and other travel books—on Belgium,

Paris, and Vienna—in the remaining thirty years of her life; the best known of her novels being *The Vicar of Wrexhill* and *The Widow Barnady*. She reared a gifted family, among them Anthony Trollope who was to become an even more famous author than his mother. After her husband's death in 1855, Mrs. Trollope settled in Florence, Italy, where she became a prominent member of the British colony. There she died in 1863.

Alfred A. Knopf, publishers, are to be congratulated on presenting *Domestic Manners* to a new audience. Readers of 1949, no longer thin-skinned and snarling-proud as in the early nineteenth century, are not likely to be insulted at "the Old Trollope's" frank picture of Jackson's America, and will find her witty classic of travel amusingly refreshing.

Newburgh, N. Y. ALICE CURTIS DESMOND

Silas Wright. By JOHN ARTHUR GARRATY. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1949. Pp. 426. $5.00)

Four biographies of Silas Wright, the great New York Democratic leader of the 1840's, have been written, but three came from contemporaries too close to their subject in time and sentiment to write with sufficient breadth. It is only now in this scholarly and entertaining book by Professor John A. Garraty of Michigan State College that we have at last a fair and well-rounded portrait of Wright in the frame of his times.

Silas Wright is one of the many major figures in our history who are now relatively unknown. So closely was Wright's career tied in with the New York Democracy from 1828 to 1847 that his death at the age of 52 hastened the split in both the state and national Democratic parties and may even have brought the Civil War a little closer. Wright's political career is the story of the transformation of a partisan politician of the Albany Regency to a statesman who stood above the dirt and turmoil of the political arena.

Dr. Garraty's most notable contribution is his new interpretation of the "Tariff of Abominations," which Wright helped to frame. The author clearly indicates that the tariff had very real economic grounds and not solely political motivation. The wool growers of upper New York, who were Wright's constituents, advocated the high tariff on foreign raw wool. By citing

Wright's speeches in Congress Garraty answers those historians who have said that the Tariff of 1828 was not "seriously defended" by anyone.

According to Dr. Garraty, the most important period of Wright's life was the 1840's, when he reached political maturity – but when his urge to quit politics was strongest. Time and again he declined such important offices as the Vice-Presidency and a Supreme Court seat. He ran for Governor in 1844 only to help Polk swing New York State into the Democratic column. Torn between a growing distaste for politics, which tempted him to retire, and loyalty to Van Buren and the party, Wright had reluctantly remained in public office to work for the renomination of the "Little Magician." But political expediency and sly maneuvers were put behind in the spring of 1844, when Wright urged Van Buren to take a firm stand against the annexation of Texas, even though it might cost him the Presidency. By his honesty and forthrightness Wright had "ceased to be a politician and had become a statesman."

Ironically, if any lesson may be learned from Silas Wright's career, it is that statesmanship must be leavened with practical politics. Governor Wright refused to assume active leadership of the Barnburners and did nothing to crush the Hunker dissidents in the party. Thus the split in the New York Democracy widened and Wright must accept part of the blame for disrupting his party. Dr. Garraty says correctly that Wright's withdrawal from politics was an example of moral weakness and not moral strength. There was greater courage and wisdom in Jefferson's and Lincoln's use of party machinery for the ultimate good.

The only major flaw in Professor Garraty's work is his failure to examine more fully the psychological factors for Wright's withdrawal. The treatment of the genesis and issues of the split between Hunkers and Barnburners is somewhat thin. On the whole this biography is clearly written and is a worthy addition to New York State's published history.

Martin Lichterman

The Newark Colleges–Rutgers University

Pursuit of the Horizon, A Life of George Catlin Painter & Recorder of the American Indian. By LOYD HABERLE. (MacMillan Company, New York, 1948. Pp. 239, illus. $5.00)

This is a gracefully written and sympathetic short biography of an important but neglected personality in the history of American art, George Catlin (1796-1872). Catlin's name is well known to students of American Indian life and to those who study the westward expansion of this country in the mid-nineteenth century. An inveterate traveller, a man who was far more than a mere draftsman and painter, Catlin was among the first to portray the aboriginal red man and the land which he occupied. He was more than an amateur ethnologist as his writings show. But in spite of his abilities he is altogether a tragic figure as he appears in this first full length biography written by Mr. Haberle. The reviewer suspects that the author found the subject more fascinating as a man, than as a painter, which is Catlin's chief claim to fame.

The book gives us chapter by chapter an orderly chronological account of each successive phase of Catlin's life, taking him from Wilkes-Barre to Litchfield, Connecticut, where he studied law, then to Philadelphia and New York, where he made his first portrait; after that he goes to the then far western frontier and his career as a portrayer of the Indian begins. His travels, his productions, both artistic and literary, as well as his career as a showman are all recounted. The final summation of a practically unsuccessful career is vividly drawn. And a later appraisal of the locations of his works today adds weight to the sad case of George Catlin, for much of his located work is hidden from sight in attics or basements of our public art institutions. It is rather too bad that the author did not arrange to have a major exhibition of Catlin's work shown in Washington or in New York to coincide with the publication of this book last year.

Sometimes we find in books of this type a discrepancy between the aim of the author and the opinion of the publisher. A book on Catlin is long overdue, and with this volume at hand we have a short account of the life of the artist, but it hardly assumes the importance of the publisher's blurb. The book jacket informs us that Catlin was "one of America's greatest painters, whose genius only now is beginning to be recognized."

This reference to the "greatness" of Catlin can only be dismissed as an overstatement for it certainly is not born out by the book itself. Unfortunately nowhere in the book do we find critical comment on the artistic merits of the painter. We have no statements either of contemporary or of latter day critics, nor does the author enter the field of criticism. He appears rather to play the part of historian or biographer content to quote at times from the contemporary press to elaborate on his story. That Catlin's academic status is questioned is never brought out in the book. Judging his work practically a century later it can be said, the reviewer believes, that he is difficult to classify, for from the academic point of view he is actually primitive, but from the primitive viewpoint he strives to approach the academic. Catlin fought with the established academic institutions and never found a place in formal histories of American art. But as we see his work today, he has risen to a high place in the judgments of regional and ethnical historians. His work is of importance more for its scientific reporting than for its relationship to the fine arts. This point, however, is entirely overlooked by Mr. Haberle.

Having granted the author credit for writing a popular and first full length biography of George Catlin, it may be unfair to point out the lack of certain standard props usually found in biographies. Because a book is aimed at popular consumption is no reason for leaving out documentation, footnotes, dates, bibliography and index.

Smith College Museum of Art Mary Bartlett Cowdrey

Labor in America: A History. By Foster Rhea Dulles. (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1949. Pp. 402. $4.50)

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By Henry J. Browne. (The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1949. Pp. xvi, 415. $4.00 paper, $4.50 cloth.)

Unfortunately, most of the literature written concerning the American labor movement has been penned by the journalist who tries solely to tell the story in a vivid manner rather than the historian who is supposed to analyze the core, not only the

periphery, of a subject. Professor Dulles, by profession both a journalist and an historian, attempts to bridge the gap between these two approaches in his one-volume history of the American working class. In this much needed work, he sketches the history of American labor from its beginnings in England through the Taft-Hartley Act. The amount of time spent on each topic is fair; his treatment is objective. A student in search of an outline of the subject can find it here—but not much more. In this work, there can be found no new insights, little new research, but only another, albeit one of the best, in the series of generally superficial one-volume labor histories that come off our presses.

Let us, for example, examine his analysis of the workers' role in politics. There are, at least, two basic theses concerning this question. One, the Commons view, is that it was far better for labor when it did not participate in politics but instead placed all of its energies into pure and simple trade unionism. The other argument is the one put forth by Dr. Philip Foner to the effect that labor's political activities often played a stimulating role in the advancement of the working class and were generally a good thing. Whenever Dulles discusses this question, his sympathies are usually with the Commons' school, but he adds no new facts to substantiate their claims.

Dulles, further, has nothing to contribute to the growing literature concerning the importance of labor during the "age of Jackson." His position is that "while the workers may not have universally supported the Democrats in 1828, there can be no question but that they swung heavily behind Jackson as he demonstrated his mounting concern in the issues they put forward" (p. 37). Some students of this subject claim that there is a question concerning labor's later support, others like Professor Dorfman of Columbia University may question Dulles' uncritical use of the term "mechanic" as equivalent to "worker," but surely the Ohio State University professor does not prove either part of his assertion.

This, then, is my basic complaint against this book. A skeleton picture is given of labor history, but the meat is left off the bones. Moreover, although the labor body is shown in motion, why it moves in one direction or another is insufficiently explained.

Rarely, however, if I may continue this analogy, is a bone improperly placed or incorrectly described. One such incident

does take place in Dulles' description of the Catholic Church's relations with the Knights of Labor. The author claims that the followers of the Catholic Church were, at first, forbidden to join Powderly's union. He then states that after several changes by the Knights of Labor and Cardinal Gibbons' intersession on its behalf, the Pope reversed his decision and allowed Catholics to join. The Knights' membership, thereupon, increased.

Father Henry J. Browne in his doctoral dissertation at Catholic University on this very subject disagrees with nearly all of Dulles' claims.

Catholics in the United States, according to Dr. Browne, were allowed to join the Knights of Labor. Only in Canada did a document from the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome pointedly forbid Catholics to join. In the United States, this view was not accepted. In further disagreement with Dulles, the specialist on this subject claims that the Knights' membership declined, not increased, after the approval by the Pope of the national union.

This, then, is how a thorough piece of research, which Dr. Browne's surely is, can correct our misconceptions concerning labor history. The distinguished Catholic scholar's book is a thoroughly documented work in which the author, a member of the diocese of New York, sifted a vast amount of material in order to describe accurately the interrelations of the Knights of Labor with the Catholic Church in Canada, the United States and Rome—a story which he tells completely, though often dully.

It is distressing to state that after so much work, certain aspects of this problem were not adequately studied. Dr. Browne goes into the minutiae of what one prelate wrote to another, and of what incident followed another, but insufficient attention is paid to the reasons for the changing attitude of the Church. Moreover, the author does not tell us to what extent the Catholic Church influenced the Knights of Labor's trade union techniques as well as its rituals and what effect this had upon the future of Powderly's union. This information indeed would have been a contribution to an understanding of American labor history.

Dr. Browne also states that the Pope's acceptance of the Knights of Labor played an important role in keeping the

membership of the Catholic Church high. I see no proof for this statement in this work. Since its approval came when the Knights were dying and was not concerned so much with the question of trade unionism as with that of ritual and fear of the loss of Catholics, I would look rather to the *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 as being the key to the association of the Catholic Church with labor.

One other small footnote must be added to this criticism. When we write about a subject, we should not assume the reader knows as much as the writer about certain things. The author of this work uses ecclestiastical terms as well as Latin frequently—the meanings of which were as secret to me as was the Knights of Labor's ritual and only made the reading of his work more difficult than it was.

Though it had these weaknesses, Dr. Browne's as well as Professor Dulles' works stand as excellent and needed contributions to the field of labor history, where there is a great need for many more works of such high calibre.

Long Island University — ALBERT A. BLUM

Henry A. Ward: Museum Builder to America. By ROSWELL WARD. (Rochester Historical Society Publications XXIV. Rochester, N. Y., 1948. Pp. xxiv, 297, bibliographic note.)

Henry A. Ward's life spans the period in the history of American science when the naturalist gave way to the scientist. As a young man, Ward was a naturalist and, though his education was somewhat haphazard, he managed to acquire sufficient proficiency in science to interest Louis Agassiz, who made him an assistant in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard. Even at this stage of his life Ward was an outstanding collector. His geological interests led him to leave Harvard after one year when the opportunity came to go to the Ecole des mines with the young Charles Wadsworth. Financial difficulties during his stay in Paris forced him to turn to collecting as a means of supporting himself, and he found that this work paid sufficiently to enable him to make it his career. Ward took many interesting trips while a student and since travel at that time was not as easy as at present, he had hair-raising adventures worthy of explorers.

After five years abroad, Ward returned home to teach natural science at the University of Rochester. His heart, however, was in travelling and collecting and consequently he spent more time out of Rochester than in the city. Soon he gave up his teaching position to open the famous Ward's Natural Science Establishment, which still supplies scientific specimens to museums and educational institutions. Under Ward's influence and with the business sense of his cousins, the Establishment not only supplied collections and specimens for the famous museums and college cabinets of America, but it also produced competent curators and preparators for their staffs. Ward himself was primarily a collector and though he was enough of a scientist to know what was worth collecting, he was not interested in his material for its own scientific value. He procured rare creatures and minerals for other men to study.

Roswell Ward has written a fascinating biography of his kinsman. Working from diaries and other sources in the Ward Collection at the University of Rochester, he has fashioned a remarkably impartial and objective account, and one that is extremely readable and interesting. It is sympathetic, but not a eulogy. There are some points concerning interpretation which an historian might question, such as the confusion between empiricism and scientific method shown in an early section on the history of science, and there are some errors in the names of institutions and in the capitalization of French book titles which should have been checked. Ward's personal life is not defined very clearly during the second half of the book and one wonders what kind of a person he was as a man, not as a collector. His home life —if any, his relations with other members of his immediate family, the personality of his first wife, and such, are treated very sketchily, though his career is covered in minute detail. These minor matters, however, need not detract from an excellent biography and one which is recommended for enjoyable reading.

Rochester, N. Y. Phyllis Allen Richmond

Rochester The Flower City, 1855-1890. By Blake McKelvey. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1949. Pp. xix, 409. $5.00)

Dr. McKelvey's second volume in his history of Rochester maintains the high standards which he established in his study

of *The Water-Power City*. Thorough scholarship lies behind every page of this tightly-written book, which relies heavily upon the newspapers for much of its source material. Sound judgments, important to every student of urban and New York history, emerge from the detailed narrative of this city's growth and development. Most notable of all is the fine sense of proportion which the author is able to maintain in weighing the achievements of local worthies and enterprises.

Dr. McKelvey does not subscribe to the practice of many historians of sorting out and treating in separate chapters certain aspects of his story such as religion, education, transportation, and the like. The obvious advantages of the topical approach have sometimes led historians to overlook the real advantage of creating a pattern in which the various strands of a short period are tightly interwoven. McKelvey has chosen the latter approach and has succeeded on the whole in avoiding the pitfall of overwhelming the reader with great masses of disparate detail. Those who wish to track down a particular topic can do so by consulting the Table of Contents or the index. The author has managed to recreate and to recapture the complex life of the city in four stages: the late 1850's when the milling boom based upon water-power was leveling off; the Civil War era with its familiar story of high prices, shortages, saddened homes, and juvenile delinquency; the troublesome decade after Appomatox when the manufacture of clothing, shoes, and the development of nurseries completely outstripped milling and the influx of Germans and Irish was gradually changing the Yankee town at the falls of the Genesee River into a cosmopolitan city; the period (1875-1890) when the cosmopolitan populaton tackled the complex problems of urban living, continued to organize a large number of associations to carry on their business, labor, religious, cultural, and recreational activities, and furnished the manpower and enterprise for the industrial growth of modern Rochester.

The following items will illustrate the hundreds of interesting and significant facts unearthed by Dr. McKelvey. Approximately one-half of the population was of German stock in 1890. As early as 1855 the clothing industry had surpassed milling as an employer of labor. Rochester enjoyed one of the highest rates of home ownership in the country (44% in 1890). Asa Soule's Hop Bitters and Hulbert Warner's Safe Liver Cures

were two patent medicines vigorously promoted by their manufacturers who made phenomenal fortunes. The "good people" of Rochester helped to drive the Salvation Army out of the city in the early 1880's. The question of public aid to parochial schools received a thorough airing. The citizens of Rochester were great "joiners" organizing scores of societies including clubs intriguingly entitled the Pundits (organized by Lewis Morgan), the Ignorance Club (a women's literary society), and the Birds and Worms (a social society). The Powers Gallery, opened in 1875, owned one of the outstanding art collections of the time and greatly stimulated local artists.

One of the more significant chapters is concerned with New Industrial Growth 1875-1890. Consumer industries such as brewing, tobacco, and patent medicine receive attention as do the beginnings of such modern giants as Eastman Kodak and Bausch and Lomb. Rochester's industrial development witnessed two trends affecting industry throughout the country: the tendency to absentee ownership and the growth of monopoly. The city fathers at first tried to maintain competition in the gas, electric, telephone, and traction fields, but gradually discovered that regulation was the only effective way to prevent exploitation of consumers and to avoid duplication.

Several themes run through the book. Central to this history is the theme of assimilation and Americanization of the immigrant. Another important story is the rise of women from a position hardly better than a household drudge to a status well on the way to political and social equality with men. Incidentally Susan B. Anthony enjoyed greater renown outside Rochester than within the city. Another theme is the development of voluntary associations—corporations, unions, societies, teams, churches—which shifted people's loyalties from the locality to the institutional group. The impact of science upon the thinking of the community and the gradual trend toward a secular culture are likewise explored. Another theme is the relative success of the citizens of Rochester in using the democratic process to solve the perennial urban problems of water supply, fire protection, crime and intemperance, health and sanitation, and education of the young.

More than a score of full page illustrations add color and interest to this history.

Hamilton College David M. Ellis

New York History

Dark Trees To The Wind. By Carl Carmer. (William Sloane Associates, Inc., New York City, 1949. Pp. 370. $4.00)

All of us here in the Cooperstown office felt that this book was so important that we made its launching an Association occasion. Mr. Sloane, the publisher, John O'Hara Cosgrave, II, the illustrator and Mr. Carmer came to Fenimore House and spoke to a large and enthusiastic gathering. The event was planned not merely because Carl Carmer is a good friend of the Association and had proved so successful a teacher in the Seminars last summer. It was, rather, because it seemed to us that the book was based on certain fundamental concepts which also underlie much of what we are doing. I think those concepts are summed up first in the title of the initial chapter, "York State is a Country," and secondly in the prefatory quotation from William Carlos Williams. Certainly over the last fifty years the Association has been saying in various ways and at various times that this State has had its own peculiar and significant history, both military, agricultural, social and artistic. Implicit in this is the assumption that we have bred up certain characteristics in our area which are of abiding value. The quotation from Williams reads, "In history, to preserve things of 'little importance' may be more valuable—as it is more difficult and more the business of a writer—than to champion a winner." It seems to me that the whole development at The Farmers' Museum, for example, with its emphasis on the implements men used in their fields and the looms on which women wove their cloth and the simple buildings in which they worked, our emphasis upon local history across the State, our emphasis upon people who were not winners but often nameless followers, reflect this same viewpoint.

Carmer speaks somewhere in the book of the two coins that Yorkers carry: the hard practical coin of the realm and the "poke o' moonshine," the coin of dreams and fantasies and visions and illusions. Like *Listen for a Lonesome Drum*, this volume digs into history that has been forgotten, the history that in the time of its making so seldom seemed historic. It touches in time from 1655, the date of the big Eat-All Dinner, when the Jesuits and their French friends outwitted the Indians who were no longer friendly at one of the most fantastic meals ever served in our State, down to 1948 when the Green Val-

ley Grange 881 resurrected the old community spirit of the frontier and did a cooperative job with the same gusto as their fathers brought to barn-raisings and their mothers brought to quilting bees. In the years between 1655 and 1948 lie the other events Carmer describes, including those made by men and women who traded in the coin of moonshine.

In the first chapter, titled as I recorded above, "York State is a Country," Carmer has attempted the difficult task of indicating the great contradictions and especially the overtones of our land. It is a profile of the Empire State and its peoples; this is a tantalizing and difficult assignment as anyone who has ever tried it can testify. I like especially the way Carl Carmer tells the story of Lon Whiteman, beloved son of a distinguished family in the town of Dansville, whose townspeople never lost faith in him and never doubted him and were always proud of him despite the fact that everywhere else in the country he was known to be the most dangerous confidence man alive. I like the story of Deskaheh, the Cayuga, who almost single-handed tried to carry to the League of Nations the problems of his displaced people. I like, too, to hear again the story of Mary Jemison who knew the kindness and the warmth of Indian life at a time when most people on this continent were aware only of its savagery. In some ways I like best of all the story of Nils Szoltevki von Scoultz, the young Polish count, who so loved liberty that he set out with a wretched little band to free all Canada from the British yoke, only to discover in mortal disillusionment that the Canadians found the British yoke light and to their liking. The best written part to my way of thinking, and in some ways the most moving, is the chapter, "The Whooper Swan of Olive Bridge." One likes different parts of this rich, meaty book for different reasons.

Librarians may be put to it a little to classify *Dark Trees to the Wind*. It isn't quite history, it isn't quite folklore, it is, rather, folk history, written as the people remember it, as well as the way the documents record it.

I think this is the best book Carl Carmer has written and I think it is one of the most interesting books that has been written about our region. It is built on the solid sub-structure which recognizes the importance of great illusions and the necessity for a great people to dream dreams—even foolish ones.

Cooperstown, New York Louis C. Jones

Dirt Roads to Stoneposts. By ROMEYN BERRY. (Century House, Watkins Glen, N. Y., 1949. Pp. 96. $2.00)

I must confess to a deep-seated distrust and dislike of professional back-to-the-landers, more especially if having stayed in the country during part of the year for a few seasons they insist upon becoming vocal and bursting into print concerning their rural adventures. Over many years we have had a long succession of such books, some of which have received a good deal of acclaim and yet which I feel do not really ring true.

Now this is not for a moment to imply that for a man to become a real farmer he must be farm bred. As a matter of fact, love of the land and ability to cope successfully with the problems of practical agriculture are qualities which seem to be born into people rather than acquired from environment. Our countryside is now sprinkled with men and women who were cradled within the roar of great cities and yet have somehow or other heard the call of the open fields and have become one of us, speaking our language, knowing our ways and living our life. I meet them and happily recognize them as my peers.

"Rym" Berry seems to be one of these. I do not understand that he was, agriculturally speaking, "to the Manor Born." He has had what biographers sometimes call a "varied and colorful career." He found time and opportunity to range widely over the continent and somewhere along the way Cornell duly certified him as a Bachelor of Arts and Letters. He had his fling as a Counsellor-at-Law in New York City and he did his stretch in World War I and for a considerable period he served as Graduate Manager of Athletics at his Alma Mater. Then, having looked upon life from many angles, he gave ear to the call of the country and some fourteen years ago he gave hostages to fortune by daring to purchase a farm.

He was more fortunate or more intelligent than many of his kind in that he did not let someone foist upon him an acreage of stony, steep and infertile marginal land from which some poor, disillusioned soul had fled. The farm which he chose is on a rather casual cross-road but it is less than a mile from a great trunk-line highway. It is a fundamentally good farm—good enough so that always from pioneer times it has grown some wheat and doubtless will continue to do so through very many years to come. It is a farm with stone gate-posts as befits its name and a tiny brook beside the road and a sturdy, old fash-

ioned farm-house such as men built long before this pre-fabricated age and barns which may or may not be of pre-Civil War vintage.

Here he has established himself as a "subsistence farmer" but hardly at all as a "commercial farmer"—these two classifications being miles apart. Here he has built himself a very rural ivory tower from which during the years has come a long succession of humorous and philosophical musings on the current scene and now this little book which may be accurately described as a sheaf of forty-eight brief essays pertaining to farming and country living. It is a somewhat unique book in that it has neither chronology nor sequence nor relativity. The reader may begin it at either end—or, quite as satisfactorily, commence in the middle and work both ways. In places the author betrays a certain kinship to Henry Thoreau. Through it there is a gentle and kindly philosophy and always it is over laid with his own particular brand of fun-making. Sometimes his humor may be a bit uproarious (as in *"When the Vet Comes"*) but it is never in the least degree bawdy. The book may safely be recommended for reading aloud in the Ladies Aid Society, which is an acid test hardly to be lightly entered upon in the case of certain popular publications whose titles I shall not more specifically indicate.

I began to read *Stoneposts* with an appraising, not to say censorious eye, fully expecting that eftsoon I would come upon glaring errors and follies which would enable me to hold it up to agricultural execration and scorn. As it turned out, I who came to scoff remained to pray. It is in no remote way a treatise upon the business of commercial farming but it is the vagrant observations of a city man converted to the doctrine of country living who, having found it a satisfactory way of life, has chosen to make a permanent record of some of the sights and sounds which make up the countryman's year.

Rym Berry may have been late in coming to the land but he has fully arrived. He is now an accredited member of the countryside. He speaks its language like a native, fluently and without noticeable accent. As a hereditary farmer of long standing—as one countryman to another—I salute the Laird of Stoneposts.

Hillside Farm, Lawyersville, N. Y.

Jared van Wagenen, Jr.

Here's Whitesboro: An Informal History. By D. GORDON ROHMAN. (Stratford House, N. Y., 1949. Pp. 110. $3.00)

This little book was written by a student of Syracuse University who, when he submitted the manuscript to the reviewer before its publication, said he had tried to make a book different from the usual local history. This he has accomplished.

The book is written in a chatty style quite without chronological sequence. Chapter One describes what a person would have seen if he had dismounted from a trolley car in 1903 and taken a walk around the town. He gives the location of the stores of "the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker" and comments on the prices of their goods. He gives brief histories of the churches and describes the fires and fire departments.

Chapter Two harks back to 1826 and gives excellent accounts of the two interesting scholastic institutions which made Whitesboro famous, The Oneida Institute and The Whitestown Seminary. He devotes considerable attention to that remarkable character, teacher and abolitionist, Beriah Green. This is certainly the most interesting chapter in the book.

Chapter Three deals with transportation, railroads, canal, horsecars and trolleys.

By the time he reaches Chapter Four, the author finally gets back to the beginning of things. He takes up the Oneida Indians, the early patents, the Revolution, the coming of Hugh White, the formation of Whitestown, a township which included all of New York State west of Utica.

In the four pages of Chapter Five the author brings the reader back to 1903 and says goodbye. A three page Postscript says a few words about the modern town.

The book contains a dozen illustrations of such things as factories, the Erie Canal, the railroad station, the Oneida Institute and the parade of the firemen's convention!

To a person who has lived in Whitesboro a perusal of this smoothly written little book will arouse many memories of his old home and will stimulate a number of quiet chuckles.

When the author brought his manuscript to this reviewer for criticism his attention was called to the fact that the lack of chronology in its arrangement would weaken its value as a reference book, that unless well indexed, it would be impossible to look up any specific fact quickly. The author replied that

he did not want it to be a reference book. This also he has accomplished. Not only is there no index, but the chapter numbers in the table of contents do not agree with those in the text. Chapter 2 dealing with Whitesboro's educational institutions beginning on Page 34 appears in the contents as Chapter III, page 58, which is in fact the chapter on transportation. This is confusion worse confounded. Otherwise the book is well gotten out. The print is clear, the photographs are good, and the binding is attractive.

The author has accomplished what he set out to do. He has a history which "is different" in that it reads easily and enjoyably, contains a multitude of facts and is emphatically not a book for ready reference.

Utica, N. Y. T. Wood Clarke

STATEWIDE NEWS NOTES

NOTES AND COMMENTS

OF INTEREST TO YORKERS

THE SOCIETIES

The annual meeting and birthday of the ATTICA HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on September 19 at the home of Miss Marian Stevens, founder of the Society. Mr. Harry S. Douglass, Wyoming County Historian, summarized the accomplishments of the past year.

The annual meeting of the GENESEE HISTORICAL FEDERATION was held in Rochester on October 1. Mr. Albert McVean of LeRoy was elected president for the year 1949-50 and a decision was taken to meet at LeRoy in 1950. A new award, the "Horn of Plenty," made to the society having the largest representation, was captured by the WAYNE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The HISTORICAL SOCIETY of BERKS COUNTY in our neighbor state of Pennsylvania has sent *New York History* a most attractive booklet on the Society's program for 1949-50. Meeting the second Friday of each month, the Society in October took its annual pilgrimage, in November held a book auction, in December heard Joe E. Kindig III of York present an illustrated lecture on the Philadelphia School of Furniture.

The special exhibition of the MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK for November was "New York a Half Century Ago as Photographed by Byron," the Byron in question being Percy G., the fourth generation of a family that began photography in 1844. Percy Byron has spent sixty-four years as a photographer.

An exhibition of "European and American Bookplates" opened during October at the NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY and consisted of eight hundred items from the collection of Oliver C. Sheean which have been added to the Society's collection. The special exhibit, "Our City Hall in History," traced a hundred-and-fifty years of city history.

Speaker at the October 14 monthly meeting of the ONONDAGA HISTORICAL SOCIETY was Milton W. Hamilton of the Division of Archives and History, New York State Education Department.

Statewide News Notes

The annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Association held at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, October 21-22, heard S. K. Stevens, State Historian of Pennsylvania, deliver his Presidential Address, "Pennsylvania History—Past, Present and Future." Ballad singer, Frank Warner, presented his folk songs at the annual dinner, at which the principal address "Some Aspects of Early Railway Transportation in Pennsylvania" was given by Revelle W. Brown, president of the Reading Company.

Mrs. William H. Bloodworth of Duanesburg talked on "Wedgwood" at the regular meeting of the Schenectady County Historical Society, Thursday, November 17.

Moritz Jagendorf, president of the New York Folklore Society was the speaker at the Sullivan County Historical Society's annual dinner meeting at the Hotel Lenape at Liberty on Monday, November 14.

PERSONALS

New York State Historical Association president Carlton J. H. Hayes received on November 12, 1949, the Cardinal Gibbons Medal awarded for the first time by the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America. The medal was presented to Professor Hayes by Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, Chancellor of the University, at the annual dinner of the alumni at the Hotel Mayflower, Washington.

Association staff members have had the usual number of speaking engagements during the fall and early winter season with a number of appearances on national organization programs. Dr. Jones, Association director, gave the address at the dinner meeting of the American Association for State and Local History in Burlington, Vermont, on September 13, while Miss Cunningham, our Associate in Publications and Education, appeared on one of the morning sessions. Dr. Jones was a speaker at the Washington Christmas week meeting of the American Folklore Society and at the annual dinner meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul. Miss Cunningham discussed our Association's seminars at the 1949 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies in Baltimore Thanksgiving week-end and also appeared on the program of the American Historical Association at Boston Christmas week.

ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO YORKERS

Selected by

JAMES TAYLOR DUNN
Librarian, New York State Historical Association

ADAMS, SAMUEL HOPKINS: *Grandfather's Parlous Trip (The New Yorker,* Nov. 19, 1949).

ALLEN, PRUDENCE: *Love and Marriage in York State Lore (New York Folklore,* Winter 1949).

BAILEY, GILLIAN W. B.: *Philipse Castle (The Chronicle of Early American Industries,* Dec. 1949).

BEEBE, HOWARD P.: *Tales from Chautauqua County (New York Folklore,* Autumn 1949).

BORN, WOLFGANG: *Botanical Garde.. in America (Ciba Symposia,* July-Aug. 1949).

BRINLEY, C. COAPES: *Columbia Street, West New Brighton, 1892-1902 (Staten Island Historian,* July-Sept. 1949).

BROWN, JOSEPH R., JR.: *The Schoharie County Forty-Niners (County Historical Review,* Oct. 1949).

CARPENTER, EDMUND S.: *The Strange Case of Dr. Came and the Sleeping Man (New York Folklore,* Winter 1949).

Castle Garden (The Yorker, Sept.-Oct. 1949).

Christmas Customs (The Yorker, Nov.-Dec. 1949).

COAPMAN, DAVID: *The Grave of Sam Patch (New York Folklore,* Winter 1949).

CONE, GERTRUDE E.: *Early Stage Routes in the Champlain Valley (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

Covered Bridges (The Farm Quarterly, Autumn 1949).

DUNN, ADDA ANN: *Songs, Riddles, and Tales of Saratoga County (New York Folklore,* Autumn 1949).

EWERS, JOHN C.: *An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of North American Indians (New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* Oct. 1949).

GROSVENOR, JOHN: *The Settlement and Growth of Grosvenors Corners, N. Y. (County Historical Review,* Oct. 1949).

HAGERTY, CREDE D.: *Rough Days on the Tioga Frontier (New York Folklore,* Autumn 1949).

Historic Ticonderoga (The Yorker, Nov.-Dec. 1949).

Home to Sunnyside (The Yorker, Sept.-Oct. 1949).

HURD:, NORMAN G.: *Early Castile (Historical Wyoming,* Oct. 1949).

JOHNSTON, ROBERT C.: *Ballads of Disasters on the Great Lakes (New York Folklore,* Autumn 1949).

JONES, LOUIS C.: *Practitioners of Folk Medicine (Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* Sept.-Oct. 1949).

KEEN, WALTER: *Lowville Academy (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

KOBLER, JOHN: *Spook's Tour (Holiday,* Aug. 1949).

KROUT, JOHN A.: *Dixon Ryan Fox (Westchester County Historical Bulletin,* Oct. 1949).

LUTTON, GASTON: *Good Homes and Newer Uses for Old Records (The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Autumn 1949).

Articles of Interest to Yorkers

McANEAR, BEVERLY: *Pre-Revolutionary Alma Maters (The Pennsylvania Magazine,* Oct. 1949).

McELWAIN, JOHN A.: *1820 Election in Warsaw (Historical Wyoming,* Sept. 1949).

McKEEVER, WINIFRED W.: *Early Days in Covington (Historical Wyoming,* Sept. 1949).

McKELVEY, BLAKE: *A Panoramic Review of Rochester's History (Rochester History,* April 1949).

————: *Rochester and the Erie Canal (Rochester History,* July 1949).

McMILLEN, LORING: *Old Mills of Staten Island,* Part III *(Staten Island Historian,* July-Sept. 1949).

MAGRIEL, PAUL: *American Prize Fight Prints (Antiques,* Nov. 1949).

MATHEWS, ERNEST S.: *Merry Greek Tales from Buffalo (New York Folklore,* Winter 1949).

METZGER, CHARLES H.: *Some Catholic Tories in the American Revolution,* Part I *(The Catholic Historical Review,* Oct. 1949).

MILLER, ROLAND B.: *Blue Mountain Lake (New York State Conservationist,* Oct.-Nov. 1949).

MILLS, BORDEN H.: *David McClure and the Forest Preserve (The Ad-i-ron-dac,* Nov.-Dec. 1949).

MINER, EDWARD G.: *The Book of Mormon (The University of Rochester Library Bulletin,* Autumn 1949).

MORICE, JOHN H.: *Hempstead Indian Deeds (Long Island Forum,* Nov. 1949).

RICKARD, CHAUNCEY: *Slaves in the Valley (County Historical Review,* Oct. 1949).

ROCHE, MARY: *Object Lesson in the Integrity of Design (New York Times Magazine,* Oct. 23, 1949).

RUBINCAM, MILTON: *What the Genealogist Expects of an Archival Agency or Historical Society (The American Archivist,* Oct. 1949).

The Seventy-Five Years (Westchester County Historical Bulletin, Oct. 1949).

SMITH, AMY ADELE: *Forgotten Things: The Cobblestone Schoolhouse of Brewster Settlement (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

SMITH, JULIAN DENTON: *Long Island Beach Plums (Long Island Forum,* Nov. 1949).

Steamboats on the Hudson (The Yorker, Sept.-Oct. 1949).

STEVENS, FRANKLIN G.: *A Family Legend of Lake Champlain (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

STRONG, KATE W.: *Port Jefferson's Past (Long Island Forum,* Nov. 1949).

————: *More of Port Jefferson's Past (Long Island Forum,* Dec. 1949).

THOMAS, EILEEN: *Ghosts in Widow Mary's Place (New York Folklore,* Winter 1949).

THOMAS, HOWARD: *Joseph Brant, Christian (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

VAN ARNAM, RALPH N. and LEWIS S.: *The Era of Navigation on Black River,* Part IV, *End of an Era (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

WARDNER, LEROY H.: *Adirondack Medicine (North Country Life,* Fall 1949).

WEITENKAMPF, FRANK: *How Indians were Pictured in Earlier Days (New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* Oct. 1949).

WILLEY, MALCOLM M.: *President Madison's New Year Suit (Long Island Forum,* Oct. 1949).

WOOD, CLARENCE ASHTON: *East Hampton Village in 1852 (Long Island Forum,* Dec. 1949).

THE ASSOCIATION

DIRECTOR'S PAGE

Because these pages were entirely occupied last issue by the Director's Report I had no opportunity to mention the meeting of the American Association for State and Local History which followed upon the heels of our Annual Meeting in Cooperstown. This very important gathering was held in Ticonderoga, N. Y., Burlington and Montpelier, Vt., with our Association assisting the Vermont Historical Society in serving as host. Two matters of special interest to our membership resulted.

First of all the New York State Historical Association was given one of the awards of the American Association for State and Local History and it read as follows:

> "For establishing in 1948 and 1949 in Cooperstown Seminars on American Culture which have already made an unusual contribution in the fields of local history and American arts; for developing an outstanding Farmers' Museum and distinctive exhibits in Fenimore House all of which are designed to interpret the American story; for establishing a fund from which grants are made to promising historians and for the leadership it has taken in the Junior Historian movement in the State of New York."

The second item of interest was the fact that *American Heritage* (new series), which had been discussed at such great length at the Seminars and in which our members have had so important a part, made its first appearance.

Most of you are aware that our own Miss Mary Cunningham has been since January, 1947, editor of a publication also brought out by the American Association for State and Local History and called *American Heritage* which was designed to assist social studies teachers in discovering added sources of material in state and local history. The enlarged *American Heritage* is considerably broader in its scope, seeking to present in a lively, popular fashion, with illustrations both in black and white and color, the over-all American story. Under the dynamic leadership of our good friend, Earle Newton, who is responsible for *Vermont Life* and the author of *Vermont Story*, the new magazine made its appearance. Mary Cunningham

is one of the associate editors and Allan Nevins, Roger Butterfield and Carl Carmer, all members of the Association, are on the editorial board, with Edward Alexander, Ralph Adams Brown, Albert B. Corey, Charles Messer Stow, William G. Tyrrell, and your Director as contributing editors. The first issue carried articles by Carmer, Nevins and Miss Cunningham (reporting on the Seminars) and the departments, "From the Heritage Bookshelf" edited by Mr. Brown and "Seeing and Hearing History," edited by Mr. Tyrrell, which were features of the old *Heritage,* to mention only those authors who are closely allied with this Association. We felt when we saw the first issue that we were being present at the birth of a new approach to American history and the second issue of *American Heritage,* which has just come out, goes still further in justifying this belief. While 20-odd pages of this second issue are devoted to the State of Minnesota, yet three of your Trustees, Kenneth Chorley, who wrote on Colonial Williamsburg, Albert Corey on the Schuyler Mansion and C. M. Stow on the "Antiquarian Afield," all have articles of importance in the volume. The first half of a speech given by your Director at the Burlington meeting is also printed, the second half to appear in the Spring issue.

This second issue is, it seems to me, a distinct improvement over the first; there is a better balance of subject, the color photography is more consistent, the whole issue has shaken down and is more unified. I am proud that we have played an important part in bringing *American Heritage* to the public, because I believe so strongly that one of the functions of vital historical societies is to see that the story of the American past is made available and interesting to an increasing number of people. There is always the need for the cloistered, scholarly approach to history and our Association must do everything in its power to assist this utterly objective and completely academic analysis but there is also another job to be done and that is to bring to Americans, at all levels of intellectual training, a realization of the importance and the significance of every aspect of the American past.

* * * * *

This is as good an opportunity as any to pay special tribute to our friend and neighbor, Earle Newton, mentioned in the above paragraphs, who has just moved from his able direction of the Vermont Historical Society to become Director of Old Sturbridge Village, one of the most important and interesting

of American folk museums. We congratulate not only Earle Newton but Old Sturbridge Village as well.

* * * * *

We are working on the program for the third Seminars on American Culture which, as near as we can tell now, will be held the first two weeks in July and set up in such a way that it will be possible for a participant to come for either one week or two, each week being a separate unit in itself. In other words, what we have in mind are two separate but related sessions to which one could come for either the first or second week or both weeks as it seems advisable.

* * * * *

The April issue of *Art in America,* whose editor is Jean Lipman, will be known as the "Fenimore House Issue," and will be devoted to our various collections here. There will be an article by Esther Seaver, of the Wadsworth Atheneum and authority on The Hudson River School, on our landscape paintings; another by Bartlett Cowdrey, formerly of the Old Print Shop and now in the Art Department of Smith College, on the genre paintings; Everett L. Millard, a descendant of John H. I. Browere, is writing an essay on Browere and the Life Masks; the Director is doing a piece on the folk art collection, on which he hopes to have the advice of Mr. Holger Cahill; there will also be a section devoted to the portraits. The issue will be very generously illustrated and used after its regular distribution as a catalogue for the Museum here until such time as it is possible to bring out a fairly permanent volume.

JUNIOR HISTORIANS

With its September 1949 issue *The Yorker,* magazine of the New York State Historical Association's junior members, took on a "new look." The new form enlarged the size of the magazine, greatly enriched its illustrations and added color. Response from young Yorkers and old was most satisfying and convinced the Association staff they had taken a worthwhile step. In order to finance the more expensive form, it was necessary to reduce the number of issues of the magazine, but there were no serious objections since the total wordage for a year was actually increased through the move. The cooperation of various Association friends in the loan of attractive printing cuts has been particularly marked in this year's issues of *The Yorker* and special appreciation should be tendered to Mr. Kenneth H. Dunshee,

editor of the magazine *News From Home*, official journal of the Home Insurance Company, New York City.

The upward curve of the Association's junior membership happily continues. Registration rolls show that our enrollment as we go to press tops last year's enrollment at the same time by four hundred. Chapters have increased by a dozen over last year.

The fall season saw a regional meeting in nearly every one of the ten zones into which the state's Yorkers are divided. On November 5 the Hudson Valley Region gathered in zone jamboree at the Glebe House, Newburgh, with delegates and presidents from units as far south as Ossining and north as far as Catskill. The next meeting of this council was scheduled for Catskill on Saturday, April 12. October 29 Geneseo's Big Tree Chapter acted as hosts to groups from Canandaigua, King Ferry, Perry, Victor and Arcade in a Finger Lakes Region meeting where the principal speakers were United States Representative James W. Wadsworth, New York State Senator Austin W. Erwin, and your *Yorker* editor, Mary E. Cunningham. Pilgrimages to the Boyd-Parker Memorial and the Mt. Morris Dam in splendid fall weather were enjoyable features of the day.

Yorkers have been on historic trails this fall. The Henry B. Endicott Chapter of Endicott and the Remsen Chapter visited Association headquarters at Cooperstown; the Indian Head Chapter of Lebanon Springs travelled to the Herkimer Homestead; the Temple Hill Chapter of Gardnertown School, Newburgh, to Constitution Island, opposite West Point; Delhi's Watauga Chapter to Howe Caverns; the Columbia Chapters of East Greenbush to Citizen Genet's grave, the Staats House and the Schuyler Mansion; the Robert Morris Chapter, Batavia, to the Holland Land Office; the Jefferson Chapter, Jamestown, to Niagara Falls and Fort Niagara.

Parties, dances, bake sales, starred Yorker fall programs. Holland Patent reported a fall dance in the school gymnasium with a total take of $200 and a profit for Yorker work of $60. Cooperstown's two groups sold Christmas wreaths. The Mettowee Valley Chapter reports a Thanksgiving play and hobby show.

A particular feather in Yorker caps is the news from Sherman where the French Creek Yorkers have been busily promoting a village museum for some years and have at last succeeded in being deeded the building they have in mind, which will be moved to the Village Common and there restored and furnished by Yorkers.

NEW YORK HISTORY

The New York State Historical Association has recently entered into an agreement with University Microfilms, 313 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to make *New York History* available to libraries in microfilm form, beginning with the current, January, 1950, number. This step has been taken as an attempt to assist libraries in dealing with the ever more pressing problem of providing adequate space, particularly acute in the case of periodicals because of their bulk and number. The microfilm is in the form of positive microfilm and is furnished on metal reels, suitably labeled. Sales are restricted to those subscribing to the paper edition, and distribution is at the end of the volume year. Inquiries should be addressed directly to University Microfilms.

MARY E. CUNNINGHAM

THE LIBRARIES

THE SURRENDER OF FORT ONTARIO, 1796

Henry Glen, member of The Fourth Congress of the United States, left Schenectady for Oswego on June 25, 1796, to witness the surrender of Fort Ontario by the British.[1] He had as companions his son Jacob, a servant and "John Basteyance as a Battosman." Glen kept a journal of the trip, apparently written after his return, which gives us the most complete account yet known of this significant event. It is a small, handstitched notebook of fifteen pages and might easily be overlooked in the wealth of the other 197 pieces which make up the Henry Glen papers in the Association's Library at Cooperstown.[2] Only the more important parts of the manuscript are used here.

Great Britain, it will be remembered, had continued to hold Fort Ontario after the Revolution, but with the signing on November 19, 1794, of the treaty negotiated by John Jay, the British agreed to hand over the frontier forts.[3] The journal continues, "A Captain James Bruff Esq. from the State of mar[y]land was app[o]inted by the President of the United States to the Command of 100 men chawsed for the Porpose at west p[o]int to take the Command of the Garrisons of oswago and niagera., the other officers with this detachment ware Lieu[t] John McClellean Lieut[s] Rowan & Elmer Doctors Coffin & Rodes. Captain Bruff lift schonectady on the 23[d] June 96 of a thursday about 4 oClock in.

the afternoon with about 15 boats and 2 Large scows with the Cannon etc. On my 2 days Journey I laid 2[d] night at the Very p[o]int of Anthoneys noes so Called.[4] The 3[d] night a mile from the Little falls. In the morning I whent through the Lock. found M[r] B. Bleecker and M[r] Murdock at the falls. Brackfast[d] with M[r] Portin [?]. Got an acc[t] when at Brackfast that Cap[t] Bruff & the Battosmen had a fallin[g] out and was like to be a ser[*io*]uss matta. my Coming in time was of Service. They had Refused Going on But my coming made them proceed on with the Boats."

Descending Wood Creek, Glen's party reached the portage at Oswego Falls, now the City of Fulton. "At the Oswago falls I was oblidged to have Every thing Rid[*den*] to the Indian field as it was Cannon & Ordinance Stores of expenible nature Should their [*have*] been any accident happen Goeing down the falls . . . . our collars [*colors*] for the Garrisons had been neglected to been sent on in time. The Commanding Officer had a pair made at F Schuyler Reader [*rather*] then been without any which I was Glad on. But on our arivel at the Indianfields a mile below the [*Oswego*] falls and 11 miles from oswago which was on The . . . Instant w[*h*]ere we all Incamped consi[*s*]ting of soldiers Battosmen etc of about 150 men. I received the coulors from west p[*o*]int sent on by my Son John who is in Schonectady. They came in time though we ware provid[d] with others. On my arrivel at the falls I was Saluted by two Onandaga Chief[s] Give me Joy of Coming to taking possasion of the Garisons & that the British ware Going away."

Glen then wrote to Judge Cartwright at Kingston, Upper Canada, requesting that he furnish a boat to carry from Oswego those troops intended for the fort at Niagara. He sent this letter, along with one for the British officer commanding at Oswego, by a Mr. Brodhead, surveyor, on July 1st.

"The Officer from oswago," continued Glen, "Answered my letter to him of the 1st July the contents Chiefly as follow though I have his letter. Fort Ontario July 8th 1796. Your letter of the 1st with one undercover for Judge Cartwright I rec[*e*]ived & forward[*ed*] the Judges for Kingston. After directing my letter with my name & title he writes on the one side should M[r] Glen be [*absent*] when this letter came to the falls for Captain Bruff who Comman[d] the Continental Troops for him to open my letter to se[*e*] the contents which was that Mr Glen would be so Kind as to tell Cap[t] Bruff that he could not Give up the fort at [*Fort*] ontario untill his majesty stores ware all moved for which he momently Expecte[d] a Vessell from niagara . . . . a few hours after Captain Bruff had Re[*a*]d my letter from Cap[t]

Clark of the 60 Reg[t] Com[d] Oswago Captain Bruff sent on Lieu[t] Elmer with Instructions and Lordorchesters [5] Orders to Inform Captain Clark he was on his way to take possasion of oswago. This was on the 8th Instand. The Lieu[t] whent. he arrived there [*Fort Ontario at Oswego*] about 3 oClock in the afternoon Was well Received and dinned with the Commanding officer & stayed all night. Came back the next day 9th about 3 oClock. Brought an answer too Cap[t] Bruffs letter. The Contents a good deal Like the one he had wrote me on the 8th that he Could not Give up the fort untill the Kings Stores ware all moved and that he wished to see Cap[t] Bruff if he would make it Convenient to come down to the fort would then Explain his Reasons more fully Why he could not Give up the post till the stores ware moved."

Lieutenant Elmer had gone to Fort Ontario with a sergeant and three boatsmen. "Serjant coming near the Fort The Sintenel stop[d] the Serjant & call[d] the Serjant of their Gaurd who acquainted Cap[t] Clark that their was an officer Whante[d] to Speak to him. when Captain Clark whent out and mead [*met*] Lieu[t] Elmer & brought him into the fort & Lieu[t] Elmer stayed with him all night & came of[*f*] next day as is mention[*ed*] before with an answer to Captain Bruff."

On the morning of July 10th Captain Bruff himself went to Fort Ontario, dined with Captain Clark, but came away with the same answer, that the Garrison could not be surrendered until all the British stores had been moved. In the meantime Henry Glen received word that his boat from Kingston had arrived. He reached Oswego at seven on the morning of the 11th. "Emmedtly whent up to the Garison took my Son Jacob with me and on my approaching near I was mead by a Serjant who Cunducted me as far as the draw Bright [*bridge*] ware an other Serjant stayed with me till the one that brought [*me*] from outside of the fort whent & told the Commanding Officer that I was their with my Son. The Serjant Returned & had order to conduct me & my Son to The Officers Room come up the step. he lived in the second storey. he stood at the up[*p*]er part of the steps & Received me & my Son in a Very polite manner. he had Jest sett down to Brackfast & then we ware Requested to sett down to Brackfast which we did. After Brackfast on Going [*to*] my boat I told him I had Inden[*ed*] to Picht my Tent on the other [*the west*] side of the River on the Side Called old oswago. he told [*me*] ware Ever I ple[*a*]sed I could pitch. In Going of[*f*] he told me that he was Sorrow he would not have it in his power to have me & my Son at dinner as all his things ware Packed up. he wish[*ed*] me to

Excuse him which I did. after my Tent ware Pitch[*ed*] the Captain who commands the Schonner Kingston Packet cam[*e*] into my Tent. The vessell lay of[*f*] About a mile. The Captain told me he would carry a load of Publics store for me After he had made a Trip to niagera but Could not before has he had promise[d] to carry a load of Salt so I agreed that he should Emmedtly sett of[*f*] & Return with all Speed. he sailed for niagra on the 13. about 6 oClock the Vessell who was to carry of[*f*] the last of the Kings Stores got in the harbour Jest before [*opposite*] my Tent on the 12th about 10 oClock in the morning & took [*on board*] as much of the Stores as to Carry her over the Bar. She whent over the Barr on the 13th being Wednesday and their took in the Rest & set sail for Kingston on the said 13 About 8 oClock The officer[s] with the King's Troops in three Very Large boats whent off for Kingston on the 14th of a thursday morning. About 4 oClock Their was about 30 men & women [*left*]. Lieu[t] Elmer was sent [*to Oswego*] by Cap[t] Bruff who Remained all night with his [*Troops*] on the same day Cap[t] Bruff came down with the whole of the Troops from the falls which was about 12 o'clock."

With the British Garrison finally disposed of, the Americans were at last able to take over Fort Ontario. The hour was before ten in the morning, July 15, 1796. Captain Clark and a Colonel Fothergill were there to represent his majesty, together with a small detachment of thirty men.[8]

"[We] Fix[d] two field Pieces both Brass ones," Glen recorded in his journal, "and the men Drew the Cannon up to the fort. the party for the Cannon was Command[d] by Lieu[t] McClellan Captain Bruff came in the Rear with Lieu[t] Elmer & the Rest of the men. The whole whent in side of the fort ware their is a Very Large P[*a*]rade. Lieu[t] McClellan was then orderd to have the Cannon brought up to the Northwest Corner of the fort on the Ramparts & the Collars [*colors*] of the United States ware Hoisted on the flaag staff which is toward[s] the South East Corner. The wind being High made the coullers show well. Then the men ware all in order The Captain ordered Mr M[c]Clellan to begin fireing whilst Captain Bruff Lieu[t] Elmer myself Son Jacob & Mr Clench stood on the Parade. their was 15 Guns fired and then three Che[*e*]rs Given by all in the Garrison. The number in side I Compute officers Soldiers Battosmen Spectators in the whole about 130 persons. after the Chears ware Given I step[d] up with my Son M[r] Clench followed and Give Cap[t] Bruff & the other officers Joy on the occasion."

Glen and the others waited several days for the Kingston ves-

sel to return. When it didn't, seven of the smaller boats with about fifty men, their provisions and two field pieces set out. Lieutenant Elmer and twenty men were to follow when Captain Richardson arrived. On that same day, July 24th, a storm arose and forced the boats ashore, not without damage. Glen returned to Oswego and finding Captain Richardson still absent, sent another boat to search him out. The Kingston Packet, however, arrived on August 4th and "came to ancher a mile from the Fort & in the morning of the 5th being Friday I whent on Board & carried three boats Loads on [*w*]ith Provisions etc. continued Loaded the Vessell till 4 oClock in the afternoon when Everything was on board. Capt Bruff Lady daughter officers & men whent on board about 6 oClock in the afternoon & the moment they Got on board the Vessell Sett sail for Niagera & three Cannon were Fired as a Sallut from the Garrison. Cap[t] Bruff Lift a Serjant & 16 men to Go with two Large battoes [*and*] with a small Quant[*i*]ty of Stores to proceed on with me when Ever the Boat came from Kingston I had Sent for to look after the Vessell. the boat did not ar[*r*]ive untill the 9 being Tuesday about 10 oClock in the Eving. On the 10th in the morning I sett of[*f*] with three Boats 2 with a Serjant & 15 men & my own."

Henry Glen arrived in Niagara on the 15th and left five days later. He reached Schenectady the first day of September. "After being home about 4 days I got the fever & kept him till the latter end of Nov[r]. when I whent to Congress the fever lift me."

JAMES TAYLOR DUNN, Librarian.

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[1] Henry Glen (1739-1814) Schenectady trader and member of the first Committee of Safety for that city. He was deputy quartermaster during the Revolution with charge of all supplies at Schenectady; representative in first three Provincial Congresses: Commissioner of Indian affairs and member of Third through Sixth United State Congresses, 1793-1801.

[2] For a brief survey of the letters in the Glen Papers, see *New York History*, July 1945.

[3] *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* v. 13, pp. 321-338.

[4] On the Mohawk River half way between present-day Fonda and Palatine Bridge.

[5] Guy Carleton, Baron Dorchester, governor-general and commander-in-chief of Canada.

[6] *History of Oswego County*, Phila., Everts, 1877, p. 52.

OUR MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The interrelationship of museums, the relations between museums and other educational institutions and between museums and commercial organizations have been the subject of papers and discussions at museum conferences, but the membership of an organization does not always have the opportunity to know the how and why of such developments. There is no space here to theorize, but a discussion of recent transactions may give some idea of the constantly maturing relationships between the New York State Historical Association museums and organizations of many kinds throughout the nation.

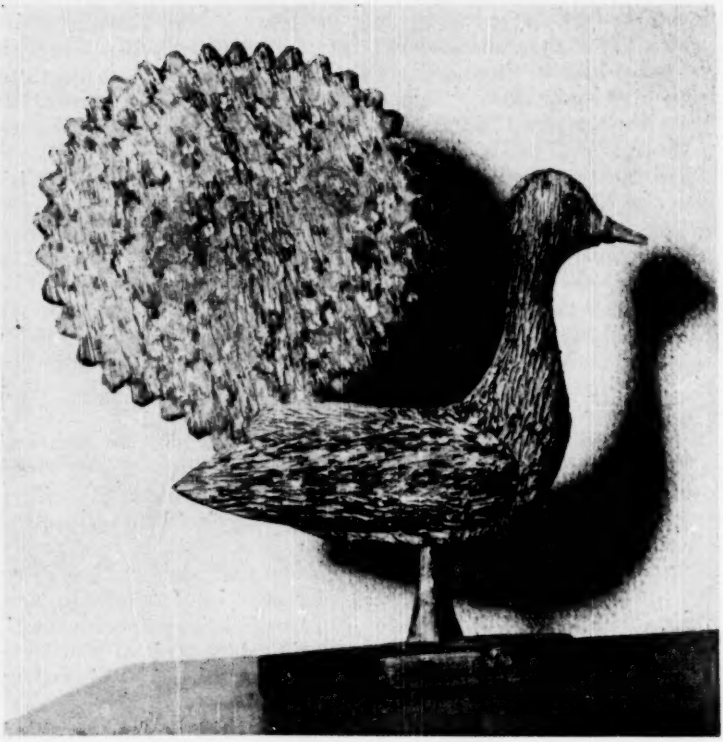
During the winter season when our museums have fewer visitors, we have found it possible to loan paintings and museum objects requested for special exhibitions. One of our most travelled paintings is a genre picture of ship building in the East River in New York City. Painted in 1833 by James Pringle, "The Smith and Dimon Shipyard" is in New York at the Century Club for an exhibition of historical paintings connected with the City of New York. Just returned from the same exhibition center is the James Hart landscape "Hudson River Near West Point" done by Hart at the height of his career.

The Society of the Four Arts in Palm Beach has arranged a three-months exhibition of American painting "From Plymouth Rock to the Armory Show" to which has gone the illustration of Cooper's *The Pioneers*, Quidor's "Leatherstocking Meets the Law."

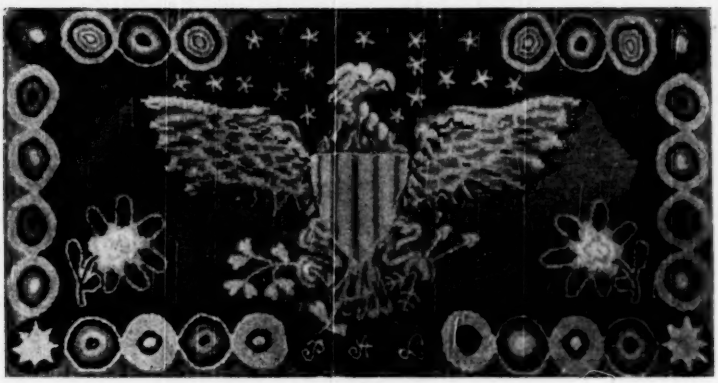
Our Ralph Earl portrait of Baron von Steuben has been loaned for a show entitled "Art Treasures in Museums in New York State," organized at the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica. This Earl is the only signed portrait of von Steuben, although there are several copies made by Earl himself of the same subject.

Last spring the Dayton Art Institute held a show entitled "The Railroad in Painting" to which was sent Asher B. Durand's "The Mohawk Valley," one of our best paintings in the tradition of the Hudson River school. It was reported by the Institute that over thirty thousand people saw the exhibition. It is interesting to note that the American military government in Germany prepared a major exhibit entitled "U. S. Railroads" for which they provided a complete photographic coverage of this Dayton exhibition, and a nationally known paper company reprinted and distributed thousands of copies of the catalog.

One of the important exhibits of the year was the Chicago Art



PEACOCK WEATHERVANE
Permanent Collection, Folk Art Gallery



EAGLE MOTIF WEATHERVANE
Loaned by Mrs. Constance Noyes Robertson

Institute's extensive exhibit entitled "From Colony to Nation," a comprehensive painting show to which went our Benjamin West portrait of Robert Fulton, taking its pace among portraits of other famous Americans and important historical scenes of the first period of our national existence.

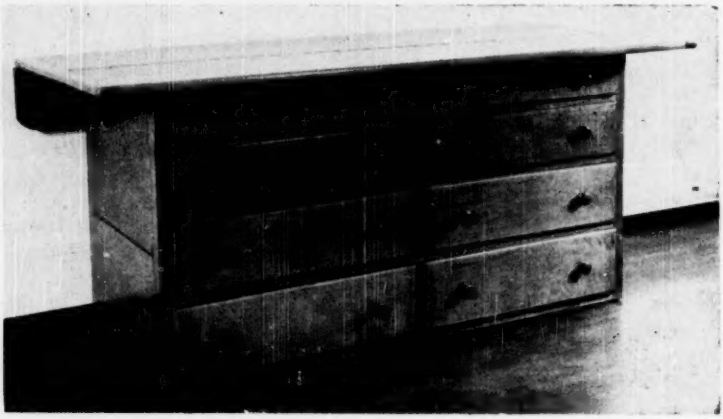
To the American Folk Sculpture exhibition at the Brooklyn Museums, which closed in early January, and which included some rare items of wood, metal and ceramic, traveled three of the most significant pieces of folk sculpture in the Fenimore House gallery. These were Alexander Ames "Head of a Boy, 1845," the Simeon Skillin "Head of Apollo" (one of a pair of polychromed wood sculptures), and a wood carving of a dancing negro, an exceptionally animated tradesman's sign.

Our own collection of folk art was opened to the public July 4, 1949, as a permanent exhibition in the new gallery on the lower level of Fenimore House. At that time we displayed numerous Folk Art plates from the Index of American Design, National Gallery of Art, of which Mr. Erwin Christensen of our Seminars faculty is the curator. Since that time we have received gifts of a decorative tin leader pipe from the Van Rensselaer house in Morris, donated by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Godley;

small polychromed peacock and large sea serpent, both presumably weathervanes, from Mr. Stephen C. Clark; Mrs. Constance Noyes Robertson of Oneida loaned a softly toned hand sewn rug with eagle motif on which the pattern has been developed in home dyed woolen homespun; from Samuel Hopkins Adams has come a gift of a beautifully engraved eighteenth century powder horn. We have added, also, a good example of calligraphy which combines some of the classicism of Persian art with the romanticism of art forms produced by the hand of an untrained artist. We are deeply indebted to other friends, particularly the Albany Institute of History and Art for the loan of six powder horns for the Folk Art exhibit, to C. Edwin Blake of West Hartford, Conn., for examples of scrimshaw, to Holman Swinney of New York for the brass skimmer.

The Tompkins H. Matteson sketch book in which are shown preliminary sketches for our painting "The Turkey Shoot" has been loaned by Mr. Harry McDaniels of Sherburne, to whom Matteson gave the book. The Sherburne Art Society last year assembled about fifty Matteson paintings for exhibition to which we sent five.

Two important pieces have been added to the New Lebanon and Niskeyuna Shaker material which has been on loan to us for the past year and a half from the New York State Museum,



TAILORESS'S BENCH—SHAKER
Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, III

Carl E. Guthe, Director. These two items, which are among the finest Shaker pieces known to exist, are a pine refectory table and a maple tailoress's bench, both gifts from Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, who learned of our interest in Shaker materials through Mrs. Edith Halpert, also of last year's Seminar faculty.

Through Mrs. Joseph Carson of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, a most significant addition has been made to the medical display. The professional equipment of one Dr. Johannes Horn, who lived near Kingston, New York until his death about 1808, is an important record in New York State medical history. There are numerous hand blown medicine bottles, leather filters, a horn funnel, silk filters in fitted wooden boxes, gray pottery jars and packages of medicine.

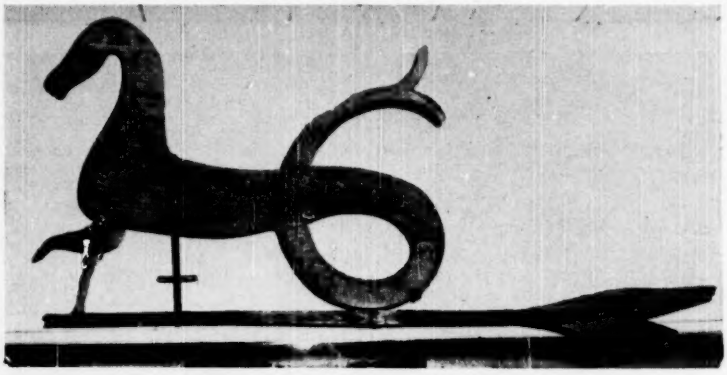
REFECTORY TABLE—SHAKER
Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, III

Our brilliant Gilbert Stuart portrait of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chieftain, was reproduced in full color by the Mohawk Paper Mills, and the colored reproductions of eight of our paintings are popular among those who wish to have copies of paintings in their houses.

We have loaned to commercial firms several items of importance to us and to them. To the Pennbrook Milk Company in Philadelphia, where the president David Gwinn maintains an internationally significant dairy museum, have gone an early Babcock tester and a modern Lanfair churn. To Arkell and Smiths, of Canajoharie, have been loaned a model of a bag-making machine and a patent model of a similar machine.

Miss Dorothy Cox of the McMullen Company borrowed five swatches of fabric from the Old Country Store for 1950 designs. Miss Marjorie Halligan and her designer, Miss Nelson, of the Celanese Corporation of America, were in Cooperstown for several days and returned with a wealth of sketches of museum objects which have resulted in the "Old York State" series of Celanese spring fabrics. Among the designs are one called "Cooperstown," "The Farmers' Museum," "Butter Molds," "Wagon Wheels," "Trivets," "Pottery Jugs" and so on, all of which are based on materials seen and sketched at The Farmers' Museum. Even the Celanese series of colors carry such significant names as "Leatherstocking," "Buttermilk," "Glimmerglass" and "Shaker Orange."

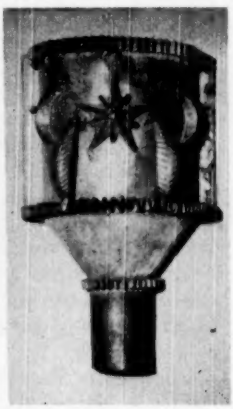
A year ago the Director of the New York State Historical Association was appointed by the State Commissioner of Agriculture to serve with Trustees van Wagenen and Guthe as a committee to revitalize the Agricultural Museum at the State Fair. Mr. George Simmons of Farmingdale assisted and acted as curator of the exhibit. From the Association's display at The Farmers' Museum went a number of items which enlarged the exhibit and assisted in the interpretation. Miss Marion Spear, Director of the Kalamazoo School of Occupational Therapy spun and wove on a small linen loom. Photographic enlargements of some of our buildings and of our craftsmen at work were used in one room to tell our own story.



Sea Serpent Weathervane
Permanent Collection

After the close of the visiting season at The Farmers' Museum, George Campbell and Charles Van Horne made a series of trips to Niskeyuna to bring back the magnificent collection of wagons and sleighs given by Mrs. A. Vedder Magee in memory of her late husband, a prominent Schenectady real estate man. Among these vehicles are tallyhos, sulkeys, victorias, cabriolets, road carts, hearses, depot wagons, an ox cart, and cutters and sleighs. It is one of the most significant gifts we have received at The Farmers' Museum in a long time. Many of our friends have been generous, but the number of vehicles,

CALLIGRAPHY, PERSIAN HORSE
Permanent Collection



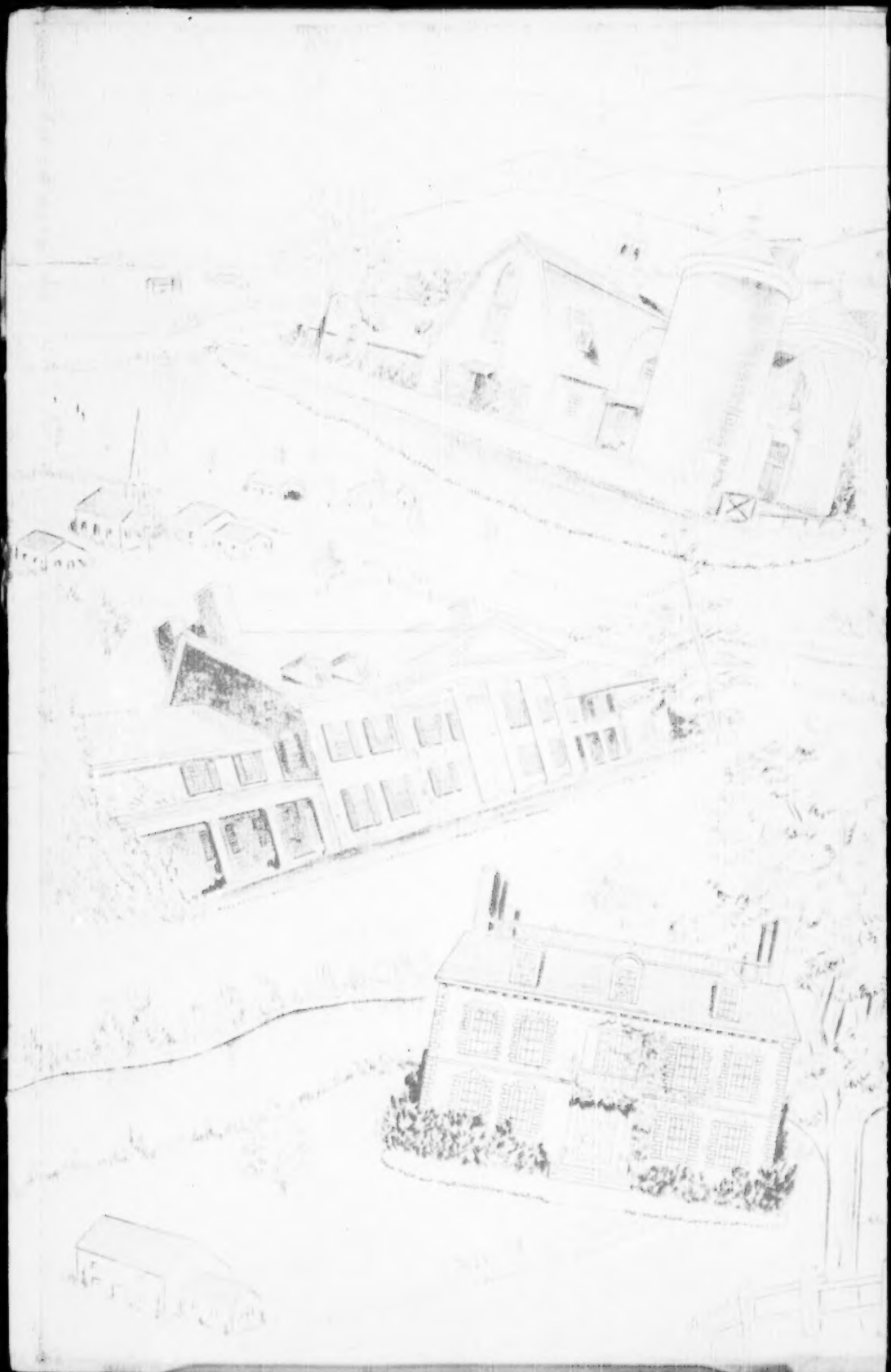
TIN LEADER PIPE

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Godley

their style, completeness and excellent condition make this an outstanding contribution.

Much has transpired since we wrote the anticipatory article about the miniature circus bequeathed to the New York State Historical Association by Richard C. Ellsworth, long a trustee of the Association, and beloved friend of many of our members. Mr. Ellsworth was Secretary of St. Lawrence University for many years and a citizen of Canton, New York, where his tiny circus was well known and loved. Between the exhibit of farm tools which bespeak the every-day existence of the farmer, and

the central gate to the circus exhibit, we arranged a group of road wagons which were the types farmers would have used to take their families to the circus or fair. We gaily decorated the entrance to the circus room and, with the assistance of a group of circus fans, set up on a 16' x 20' platform all of the circus equipment, including the loading wagons, menagerie, cook tent, horse tent, the side show, the big top, ticket wagons and numerous parade wagons. Created as an early morning scene, the circus is shown in the process of being set up at about parade time. Responsible for much of the publicity for this exhibit in "White Tops" and other circus magazines is George H. Barlow, 3rd, of Binghamton who enlisted the efforts of six of his friends to give their time and knowledge to the proper installation. It is gay and colorful, and one of the most popular exhibits at The Farmers' Museum. When he came to us, Mr. Barlow has just completed a commission to construct a miniature of the Ringling Bros., Barnum and Bailey circus for the Museum of the American Circus at Sarasota. Mr. Barlow and members of the Pat Valdo Tent of Circus Fans of America have been constructing miniature circuses for a number of years. The bequest that Mr. Ellsworth made to the Association included a library of circusiana, many pictures of circus animals and personnel famous and known the world over. There are dated photographs of both small and important shows and a number of handbills.

We fondly hoped to point to the beginning of the American circus in New York State, and we can say that the Barnum and Bailey combination did start with the profits made by Hackaliah Bailey of Somers, New York, who exhibited the elephant "Old Bet" in 1815 and on the proceeds entered the show business with his nephew under the now famous name of Barnum and Bailey. A full account of the beginnings of the American circus, the introduction to America of live animals brought for public exhibition in 1720, and the story of animal training and development of the menagerie and various acrobatic and equestrian acts, was written by another good friend of the Association. In 1934 *The Colophon* (Part 18) published "The Beginnings of the American Circus" by R. W. G. Vail, now Director of the New-York Historical Society, and it remains one of the most useful and delightful accounts of the big top in its early days.

This by no means lists fully our connections, our acquisitions, our many important relationships with other institutions, but it will serve to give our membership an idea of what goes on behind the scenes.